ENGLISH HOMES

PERIOD I - VOL. I

NORMAN & PLANTAGENET
1066-1485

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Norman and Plantagenet, 1066-1485

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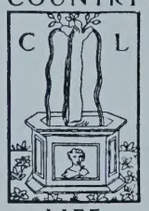

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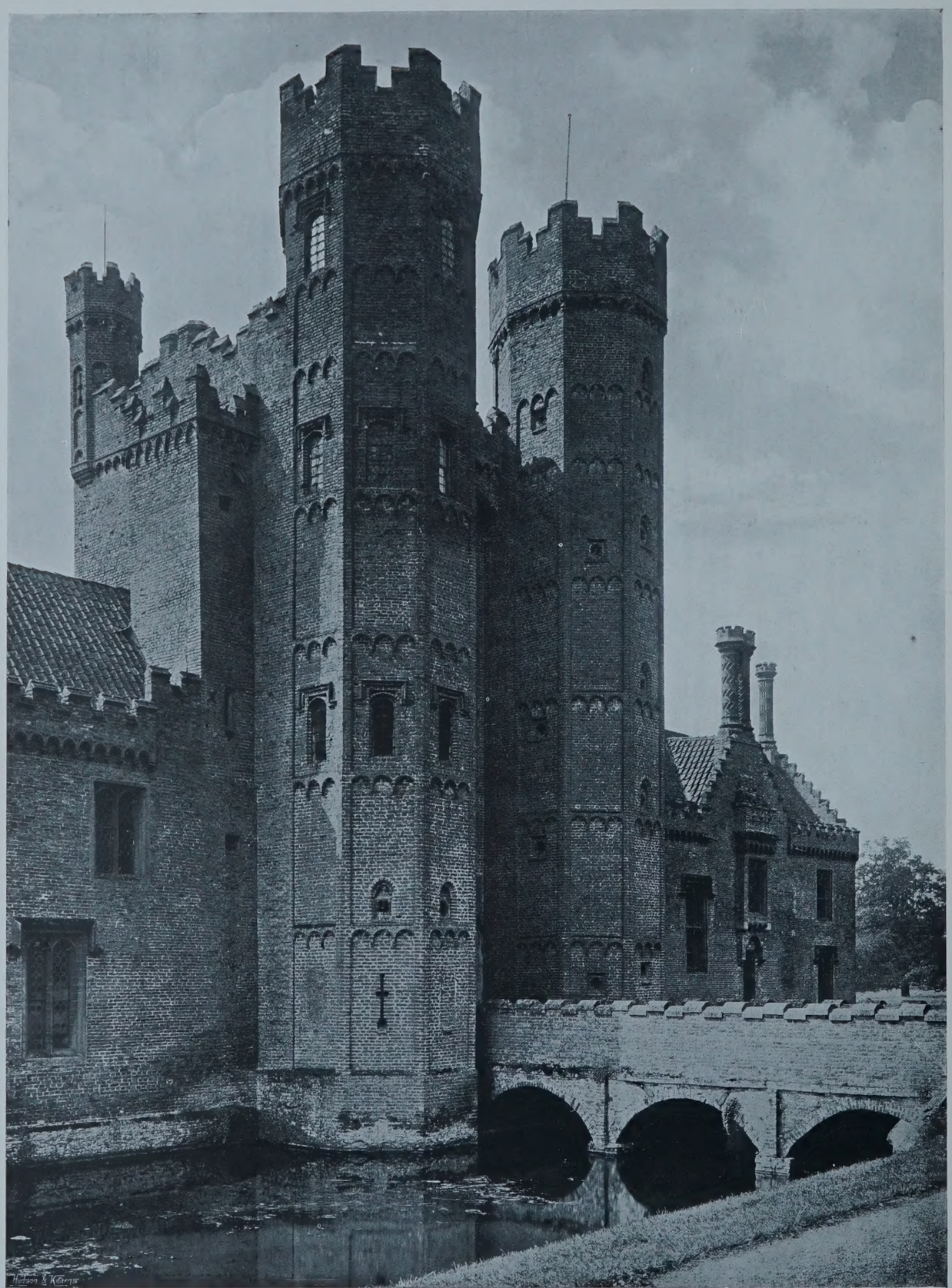

OXBURGH HALL, NORFOLK : THE GATE-HOUSE.

Example of fifteenth century English brickwork.

ENGLISH HOMES

PERIOD I—VOL. I

NORMAN AND PLANTAGENET
1066-1485

BY

H. AVRAY TIPPING
M.A., F.S.A.

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ALLINGTON CASTLE,

Near Maidstone, Kent, was a Norman castle rebuilt by de Penchester about 1281. Altered by the Wyatts under the Tudors, it fell into decay in the eighteenth century and has been recently renovated by its present owner, Sir Martin Conway. Page 189.

ARUNDEL CASTLE,

In Sussex, was given at the Conquest to Roger de Montgomery. By the Earls of Arundel, of the de Albini and Fitzalan families, it was at times enlarged and re-edified. Passing to the Howards, it was universally " restored " by the fifteenth Duke of Norfolk. It is now the property of the sixteenth duke. Page 21.

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Near Corbridge, Northumberland, appears to have been built by Robert de Raynes about 1280 and enlarged twenty-five years later. It is the property of Sir H. D. Blackett, Bart. Page 101.

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On the Northumberland coast, was King Ida's capital in the sixth century ; was a royal castle under Norman, Plantagenet and Tudor kings ; was bestowed on Sir Claudius Forster in 1610 ; was acquired by Lord Crewe in 1709 ; was left by him in trust for charitable purposes ; and was bought by the first Lord Armstrong, who spent large sums in " restoring " it. It is the property of the present Lord Armstrong, great-nephew to the first lord. Page 41.

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Near Robertsbridge, Sussex, was built by Sir Edward Dalyngruge in 1386 and remained unaltered until dismantled by Waller's orders in 1643. It now belongs to Earl Curzon of Kedleston. Page 239.

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Lies west of Hereford. It was owned by the Daunceys for at least four hundred years before they parted with it a century ago. The hall was built about 1350, either by a Dauncey or by Ralph Torrell. It was purchased in 1911 and renovated by Mr. and Mrs. Hubert Astley, the present owners. Page 133.

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A seat of the bishops of that see, is now occupied by the University of Durham. It still presents interesting Norman, Plantagenet, Tudor and Stuart features. Page 55.

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Standing in that Lincolnshire town, was completed by Sir Thomas de Burgh before 1484 and retains the features of that period. It is now the property of Sir Hickman Bacon, Bart. Page 275.

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Near Bradford-on-Avon, Wiltshire, was built by Thomas Tropenell about 1480. It has recently been entirely renovated by Mr. Harold Breakspear, F.S.A., for its owner, Mr. Robert Fuller. Page 313.

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LEEDS CASTLE,

Near Maidstone, Kent, was a royal possession from Edward I to Edward VI, and retains many Plantagenet and Tudor features, although the present dwelling portion was rebuilt by the first Mr. Wykeham-Martin in 1832. It is now the property of Mr. C. P. Wykeham-Martin. Page 201.

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In Suffolk, south-west of Ipswich, is a thirteenth century manor house with brick walls, probably built by John de Vaux, who died in 1286. Its present owner, Mr. F. A. Crisp, preserves this gem with great care. Page 92.

LUMLEY CASTLE,

Near Chester-le-Street, Durham, was built by Ralph, Lord Lumley, under Richard II, altered by John Lord Lumley under Elizabeth, and again, from Vanbrugh's designs, by the second Earl of Scarbrough under George I. It now belongs to the tenth Earl of Scarbrough. Page 247.

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Near Ripon, Yorkshire, was built by John de Markenfield and his son, Sir Thomas, in the early part of the fourteenth century. It is now owned by the fifth Lord Grantley. Page 125.

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Near Coleshill, Warwickshire, was built by William de Clinton shortly before his death in 1354. It was ruinous in Henry VIII's time, but was acquired and part refitted as a habitation by Sir Thomas Dilke in 1589. It is now owned by Mr. B. A. Fetherston Dilke. Page 220.

NORTHBOROUGH MANOR,

Near Market Deeping, Northamptonshire, was probably built by Geoffrey de la Mare under Edward II, and altered by a Claypole under James I. It is now the property of Mr. G. C. Wentworth-Fitzwilliam of Milton. Page 152.

PENSHURST PLACE,

Near Tonbridge, Kent, was built by Sir John Poultney under Edward III, enlarged by a Devereux under Richard II, partly transformed by the Sidneys under Elizabeth, altered by a Shelley under William IV, and renovated by the second Lord de L'Isle under Victoria. It now belongs to the third Lord de L'Isle and Dudley. Page 166.

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HOUSE AT SOUTH PETHERTON, SOMERSET, KNOWN AS KING INA'S PALACE.

Example of fifteenth century ashlar work.

ROCHESTER CASTLE KEEP FROM THE SOUTH-WEST.

INTRODUCTION

THERE was a housing problem in mediæval times, and, if the labourer ended the period as he began it, with little more than a rough timber shelter set about a masonry hearth, the landowner in the country and the merchant in the town made large strides in the extent and commodiousness of their homes. How they planned them and dwelt therein may certainly be less easy to realise in this period than in those that followed. What few of them remain are for the most part roofless ruins or much modernised dwellings. On the one hand, we have the bare walls of Norman keeps like Rochester (Fig. 1) and of Edwardian fortresses like Carnarvon (page 86); on the other, we have castles subjected to Renaissance reconstruction in the seventeenth century, followed, perhaps, as at Windsor, by a nineteenth century pseudo-Gothic transformation.

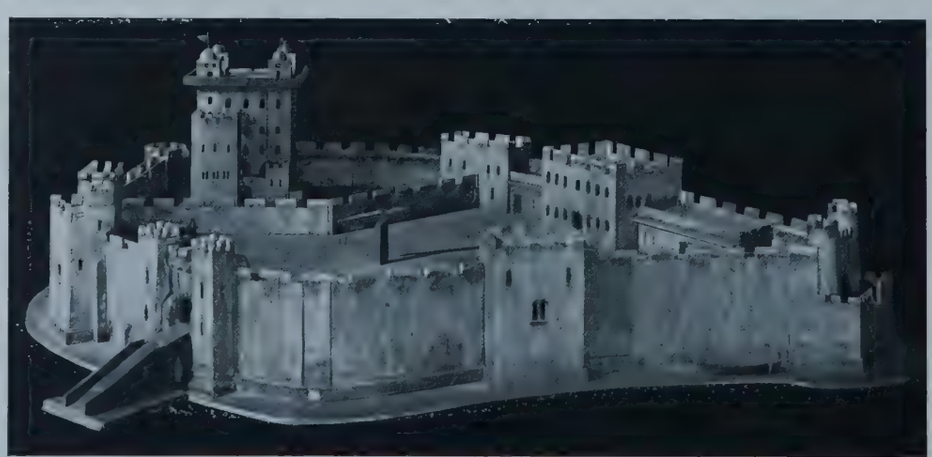
Some, however, there are where sufficient of the original remains clearly apparent, hazily traceable or knowledgeably revealed, to permit us to read the story of the domestic life of barons, knights and squires under our Norman and Plantagenet kings. They vary much in extent, character and date. There is the keep of the de Veres at Hedingham (page 4), built in the early half of the twelfth century, and, before it and the Norman manner closed, the superposed halls of the prince-bishop of Durham (page 61), and that with gabled roof and side aisles set within castle walls by de Ferrers at Oakham (Fig. vii). The defended manor houses of Wenham (page 92), Aydon (page 101) and Stokesay (page 111) show how knights of no great importance and fearing no organised attack housed themselves in the thirteenth century while Edward I was fortress building in Wales and creating a castle type which military minded barons still used as a model throughout the fourteenth century—as at Maxstoke (page 220) and Bodiam (page 239), although wealthy merchants might affect very little protection for their country seats, as at Penshurst (page 166). Lastly, in the fifteenth century, we can contrast the curious reversion to the Norman idea shown by Lord Cromwell's tower at Tattershall (page 284), and the growing feeling for light, comfort and convenience displayed by the open manor house of Chalfield (page 313).

By comparison and contrast we are enabled to mark the evolutionary changes in the planning and designing of such domiciles, and the differences arising from their builders' purpose, purse and personality. We shall find that they reveal fully as much of conservatism and convention as of revolution and originality. From first to last the period is that of the dominance of the hall. Although it stood almost alone at the beginning, but at the close was no more than the centre of a group, yet its importance, its uses, its position, its arrangement all remained permanent in principle and little affected even in detail from the day of Senlac to that of Bosworth.

The human habitation begins by being a single roofed space, which, in northern climes, needs also enclosed sides and a hearth. The single, undivided space and that of small size suffices primitively, but as civilisation advances and social grading increases the chief men demand more. They establish a separate place for menial domestic operations, such as cooking. They satisfy their desire for privacy and segregation by having another space for their own use, for sleeping especially, but by day also for their womankind. Thus, near to the more public end of the hall or place of assembly is set the kitchen, while attached to the upper and exclusive end of the hall is the private apartment. Such was the normal accommodation of the tenth century Saxon thane, and such remained sufficient for many a Norman knight in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. But the great baron, while retaining and expanding the centre, also developed the ends. To the kitchen was added the pannetry, or pantry—where not only bread, but other cooked supplies were kept—and also the buttery where the *bouteiller*, or butler, had all

drinkables ready for service. At the other end of the hall the single solar came to be divided into a parlour for the day and a chamber for the night, and the latter soon reached plurality for the benefit of important members of the family and guests. Religion, too, demanded its own space, and the chapel formed part of the domestic suite. But there was a great lack of scientific planning. Each space or room was thought of as a complete and separate item, so that intercommunication was habitually through the open air, and it was a great advance, and luxury even, for royal personages, when Henry III added covered ways for himself and his consort. Thus the domicile of even an important personage and his very numerous household was apt to resemble an agglomeration of little edifices rather than a single organised and consistent habitation. So strong was this tendency that only dire necessity could check it. It was enough as a defence against the elements; but defence against man was often an insistent need and dominated the situation. Throughout the period military and domestic architecture are closely connected and must be concurrently considered. When, as during the Stephen anarchy, social conditions are strongly military, military

i.—ROCHESTER KEEP FROM THE NORTH-WEST.
The forebuilding is seen on the north side.



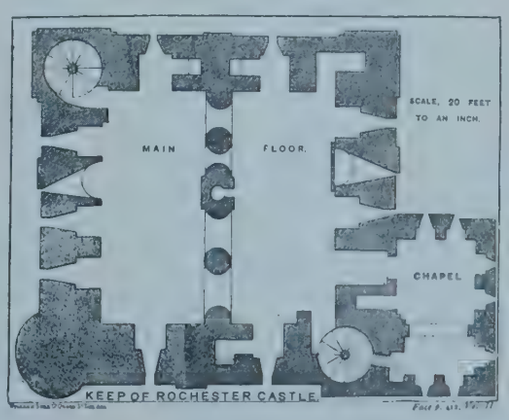
ii.—MODEL OF ROCHESTER CASTLE IN MEDIÆVAL TIMES.

iii.—THE SECOND, OR STATE, FLOOR OF ROCHESTER KEEP.

The doorway to the well shaft is seen between the pairs of arches.

considerations influence and even control the house plan. The advent of the Normans in 1066, indeed, brought this about. A small military caste had to overawe and restrain a subject people. Then, when the royal power was weakened by dispute or inefficiency, members of the military caste readily quarrelled with and attacked each other. The survivor was then he who had called to his assistance the most advanced forms of military architecture, and thus, at a time when lowness and looseness were the characteristics of house architecture, there arose for a special purpose and for a limited period a type as chary of ground space and as liberal of superposed storeys as the components of a modern town street.

We must not, however, in reviewing the mediæval habitation, allot too large a place to the Norman rectangular keep. It was an exceptional thing, contrary to the civil spirit of its age, called forth by military necessity, used only occasionally and so unpopular as to be soon abandoned. True, it is the principal survivor of its day. But that is because other contemporary buildings were either comparatively ephemeral in material and treatment or readily convertible to a changed purpose, while the keep was almost undemolishable in its substance and quite unadaptable in its disposition. At Rochester, Hedingham and Rising (page 18) its huge walls and massive features in large measure remain as fit subjects for the photographic



iv.—PLAN OF THE SECOND FLOOR OF ROCHESTER KEEP.

From Clark's "Mediæval Military Architecture."

camera, while other forms of contemporary habitations are, with very little exception, capable of merely conjectural restoration or depictment.

Except when Roman walls could be adapted, the Saxons appear to have practically ignored masonry for defence. The Saxon thane had his *aula*—generally oak framed—half mansion, half fortress in type, protected by the nature of the site—marsh, river, isolated hill or bluff—and improved by the artifice of wet moat, dry ditch, earth mound, timber palisade. The Norman in France had much the same until the middle of the eleventh century, when the stone-built keep, often rectangular, as at Arques, was introduced. Bringing the idea to England, the Conqueror or his son Rufus built the Tower of London, but the barons do not appear to have achieved anything considerable on those lines. They generally took what they found, and, adopting the same manner and materials, strengthened and enlarged. Neither king nor people liked the magnates to have more, as it made them too independent and oppressive, as was found under Stephen, when central government was weak and local chieftains followed their bent. A strong king kept strong castles in his hands and regulated, when he did not prevent, their private ownership. It took a long time for the example set by the king in London to be followed by the barons, and the Norman keep in England is a product of the twelfth rather than of the eleventh century. That is now universally admitted, and Gundulph's claim to the Rochester keep is disallowed. A monk of Bec, he followed Lanfranc to England, became his proctor at Canterbury and obtained the Rochester bishopric in 1077. It was possibly as early as the following year that he was commissioned by the Conqueror to build the keep of London. We know that at Rochester he did castle as well as church building, but all that now remains of his time is the tower which became incorporated into the north side of the cathedral. The castle was granted in 1126 by Henry I to William de Corbeil, Archbishop of Canterbury, who proceeded to build an " egregiam turrim," no doubt the existing keep, which so closely resembles that at Hedingham (Fig. 3) that the two are considered to be of much the same date and by the same designer. Dover and Castle Rising are two other examples in a moderate state of preservation and possessing the same general characteristics. All are massive quadrangular towers of from three to five floors, and having, set against one side, a lower building containing a carefully defended flight of broad steps (Fig. 16) leading to an ante-chamber or *vestibulum* from which a fine portal (page 8) admitted to one of the large rooms on an upper floor of the keep. This forebuilding is least ruinous at Castle Rising (page 16). At Castle Hedingham it is nearly all gone. At Rochester the stairway portion is in ruins, but the *vestibulum*, with a chapel over it, survives (Fig. i). At both the *vestibulum* is on a level with the first floor, which is set over an above-ground basement 15ft. high. This darksome region was reached only by descending from the first floor by means of the newel stair occupying at Rochester the north-east corner of the keep and ascending the whole height of it, which is 113ft. to the coping of the battlements. It forms a square of 70ft., exterior measure, the walls being 12ft. thick, and in the thickness are various chambers, window recesses and galleries. The interior space on each floor is divided into two by a thick cross wall, leaving two rooms 46ft. long and a little over 20ft. wide. On the second, or state floor (Fig. iv), however, the cross wall is pierced with four arches (Fig. iii), and although a stone screen, about 10ft. in height, ran across each archway, the upper part was open. Moreover, a mural gallery ran round half-way up the double storey height of 32ft. and had thirteen arched openings looking down into this grand double hall or place of assembly for the inhabitants of the castle, where the top floor would provide the solar and chamber of the principal personages. Hedingham being smaller (page 5), there was only one room to the floor, but the same number of storeys, whereas at Castle Rising, which equals Rochester in area, but has only three storeys, the two-room scheme was adopted (page 14). The detail in all three is very similar, except that the later Rising is much richer in ornament. At Rochester that is almost entirely restricted to the chevron moulding of the arches of the hall of state and the rooms above, including the arches of the fireplaces. These are on the same model as those at Hedingham, semicircular in form and having a conical tunnel to take the smoke through the wall thickness and out by apertures 12ft above the hearth. This would only happen wind favouring ; but the advantages of perpendicular shafts were evidently not apprehended by the designer, although he used a perpendicular shaft running from top to bottom of the keep for the well, an ingenious device permitting

the bucket to serve each floor. The doorway for this purpose on the hall floor is seen in the block of masonry between each pair of archways (Fig. iii).

The compact, superposed and ill lighted character of these keeps was against the free spirit which existed even at that age and which submitted to such restrictions only under fear. When

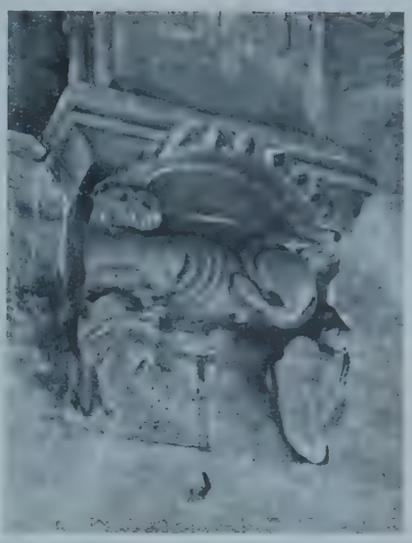
V.—FARNHAM CASTLE: STAIRWAY TO THE KEEP.

defence was not considered essential, or when modes of defence were devised that allowed better accommodation, the keep was not built, and, where it existed, was disused for residential purposes. A model of Rochester Castle (Fig. ii), now in the museum, shows how small a space the keep occupied in the general scheme of defence reached by the time of Henry III, when we know that

VI.—PLACE HOUSE, TISBURY : THE OUTER GATE-HOUSE.

Place House was a Grange of the Abbess of Shaftesbury. Little remains except the two gate-houses with rooms over them, and the great barn.

vii.—THE HALL AT OAKHAM CASTLE FROM THE SOUTH-WEST.

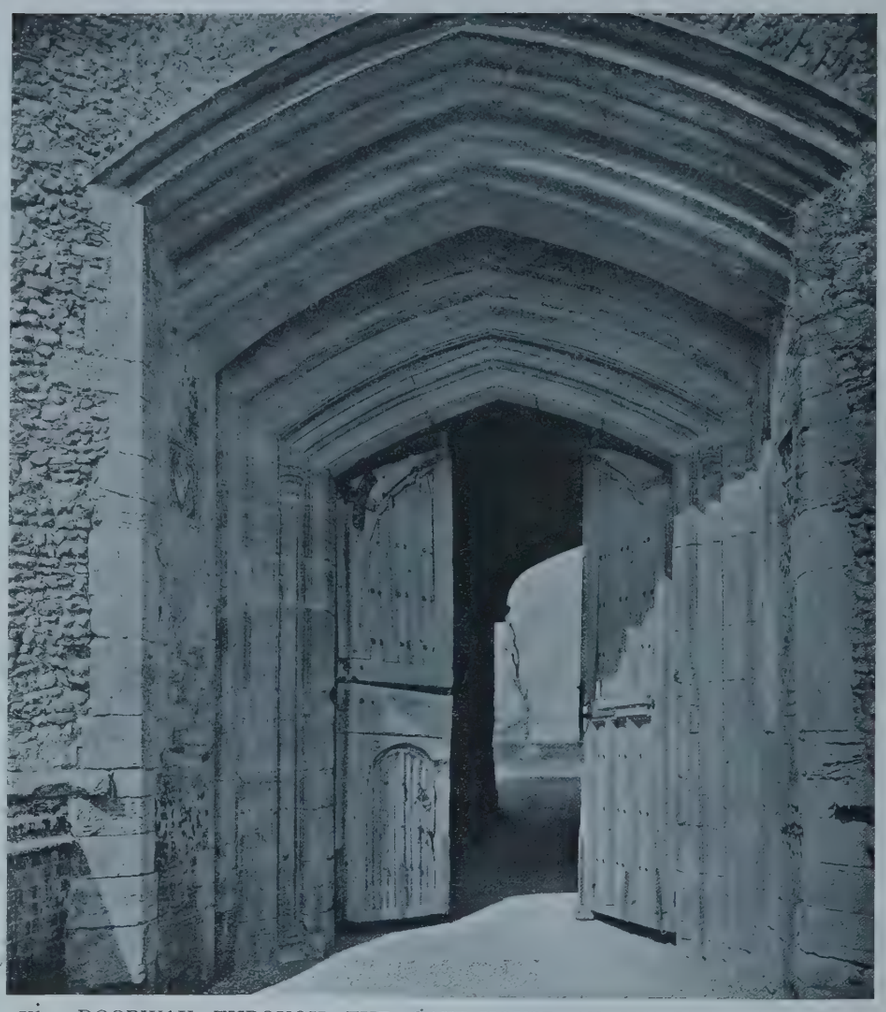


ix.—CORBEL IN OAKHAM HALL.

x.—CORBEL IN OAKHAM HALL.

viii.—NORTH SIDE OF THE OAKHAM HALL.

the hall was a separate gabled building. Even in Norman times there was, as well as the rectangular solid keep, the shell keep—a tall and massive masonry wall enclosing enough space to set timber buildings against it, leaving a central court or area. That at Farnham (Fig. v) is circular with a diameter of about 160ft. That at Arundel (Fig. 32) is similar, but of less size. This plan gradually expanded into the inner bailey of the Edwardian Castle, with its round towers connected by curtain walls as at Carnarvon (Fig. 95), and having within it a modification of the then customary house accommodation of great hall flanked at either end by solar and kitchen building. That this was the normal Norman arrangement when the



xi.—DOORWAY THROUGH THE GATE-HOUSE AT WINGFIELD CASTLE, SUFFOLK.

xii.—INNER SIDE OF THE GATE-HOUSE AT WINGFIELD CASTLE, SUFFOLK.

fortress principle could be set aside we still see at Oakham Castle. Here there was probably, in Saxon days, a royal *aula* within palisades, since the hall is mentioned by the Domesday surveyors as having for its maintenance two out of the sixteen carucates of land included in the manor which then belonged to the Confessor's widow, and later on passed to a member of the

XIII.—THE GATE-HOUSE AT WINGFIELD CASTLE, SUFFOLK.

de Ferrers family, Walchelin de Ferrers, a son of the first earl, being tenant *in capite* in the year 1161 and so continuing until his death forty years later. The architecture of the surviving hall (Fig. vii) points to its construction during the middle years of his ownership. To cover a considerable width with a high pitched gabled roof, the Saxon carpenter—who was the master

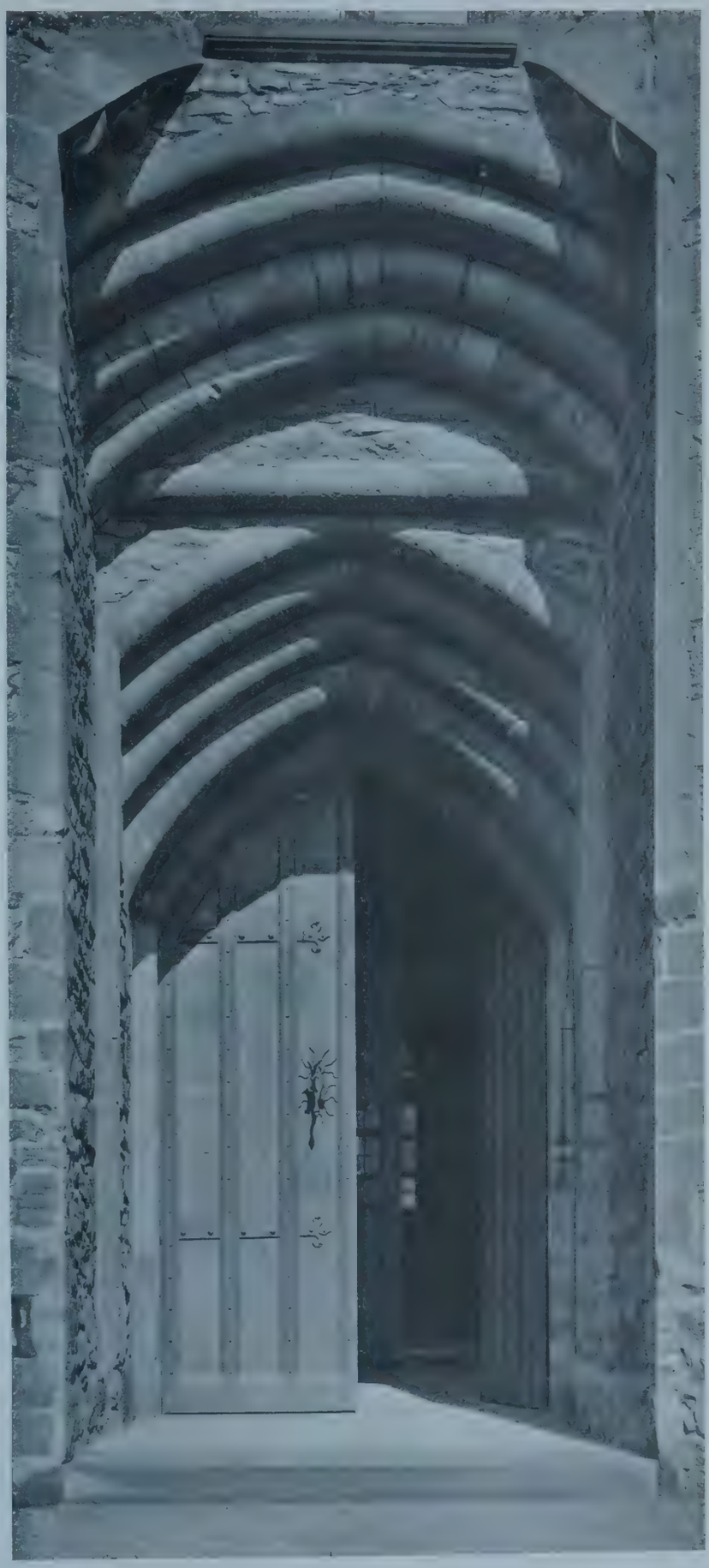
builder of that day—found it effective to divide the width into a centre and two sides by massive uprights. For most considerable buildings, whatever their purpose, the plan was adopted, and it continued, even when stone was substituted for oak, for churches where we term the divisions nave and aisles. It also continued for the chief building of the farmery, so that we still have numerous timber-framed barns of varying dates so contrived. But for a time it was equally, although by no means so frequently, adopted for residential purposes, and the close constructional likeness between house and barn is evidenced by a building in the Suffolk parish of Stansfield, now used as and in every way answerable to a barn, which the late Sir William St. John Hope and Mr. Mainwaring Johnston pronounced to be a much patched remnant of a late twelfth century timber-framed hall with Norman capitals supporting the arcading. If so, it may be a survival of that period in wood, as Oakham is of stone. The latter has been so little altered that Mr. C. H. Hartshorne, in a paper published in 1848 in the fifth volume of the Archæological Journal, was able to call it "unmixed" in style and belonging to "the period when the massive Norman was gradually merging into Early English." He called attention to "the pointed lights which are placed within segmental arches, with dog-tooth ornament in their jambs," as may be seen in the exterior (Fig. viii) and interior (Fig. vii) views. The former shows the west gable, as the great tree in front of the north side obscures the latter if taken to include the east and more interesting end. Here a round-headed two-light window was placed high up, and below were two doorways leading to offices no longer existing and probably originally timber built. The main, or southern entrance, now in the centre, was towards the east end in the usual manner, but it is uncertain whether there was a screen and gallery between the east wall and the first of the three pairs of columns. The flowing and enriched character of the capitals of these columns and of the aisle windows, together with the latter's lancet (but stone filled) heads, shows that the new forms were beginning to influence the master mason, whose conservatism still made him retain the round arch and much of the detail of the Norman period for the arcading as well as for the interior door and window arching. They are formed of Clipsham stone, harder than Ketton, but yet less coarse and capable of higher finish than Barnack, and this accounts

XIV.—WESTERN TOWERS OF THE EDWARDIAN BUILDING AT POWIS CASTLE.

for the original finished excellence and present admirable condition of the sculptured details, even the most exposed, such as the delightful figures on the gable crests—a sagitary to the west and, to the east, a figure in flowing surcoat seated on a lion. Inside there has been some mutilation. The figures of females and animals playing on musical instruments set above the capitals at the springing of the arch have lost their heads, but the corbels which support the outer arches, east and west, are perfect and were described in 1851 by Hudson Turner as—

> Very fine, they consist of a moulded corbel, out of which is cut a small arch, with the tooth-ornament on the angle, this is supported by an animal, which again is supported by two heads. The one nearest the entrance door at the east end appears to be what is heraldically called a " cat a mountain," and is supported by the heads of a King and Queen, which appear evidently to be those of Henry II and his queen, Eleanor of Guienne (Fig. x). The next is a lion supported on two heads, male and female, which appear to be portraits. The third has the mane and tail of a lion, but the head is different ; this is supported by two heads, without beards, but still apparently male and female, with very expressive faces. The fourth is a bull, supported by male and female heads, remarkable for the mode in which the hair is dressed (Fig. ix), indeed, the whole series are highly valuable as examples of costume, showing the various modes of wearing the hair and beard at that period.

The gable ends show the roof to be at the original pitch, but it is, itself, comparatively modern, the oldest part being four seventeenth century principals probably put up by Villiers Duke of Buckingham, who bought the manor and resold it to Sir Heneage Finch, Lord Keeper



XV.—DETAIL OF THE EDWARDIAN WEST ENTRANCE AT POWIS CASTLE.

XVI.—THE ABBOTS' GRANGE AT BROADWAY: EAST ELEVATION.

in 1673, and Earl of Nottingham in 1681, whence it came to his descendants the Finches of Burley-on-the-Hill. The Ferrers ownership was not lengthy and it passed through various hands, frequently reverting to the Crown. Thus, in the fourteenth year of Edward III's reign (1340) a survey or inquisition was made showing that—

> There is at Oakham a Castle well walled and in that Castle there are one hall, four chambers, one kitchen, two stables, one grange for hay, one house for prisoners, one chamber for the porter, one drawbridge with iron chains, and the Castle contains within its walls by estimate two acres of land.

It was, therefore, a complete and typical example of an early mediæval fortified manor house, the centre of a not inconsiderable community, so that its hall was not merely the chief living and eating room of the lord's large household, but the place of general meeting and for the dispensing of justice. The latter use has been perpetuated. It is the County Court, as the interior fittings show. The presence on its walls of numerous huge horse-shoes is the result of the ancient custom of a peer of Parliament having to present a horse-shoe the first time he passes through the town. Whether this is a relic of Ferrers ownership and is a play on the name (De Ferrariis) is very uncertain.

The late owner, the Right Hon. George H. Finch, who died in 1905, sat for Rutland onwards from 1867, and was very greatly respected. A memorial to him took the form of the careful repair of the hall by Mr. William Weir, on behalf of the Society for the Preservation of Ancient Buildings, a work he performed as rightly and successfully as the repair of Tattershall (page 284). The east wall had bulged from the thrusts of the arcade and was carefully strengthened. Sash frames and deal lights in both the original aisle windows and the newer dormers were replaced by oak and leaded lights. All necessary repair, but no appearance of newness or of fake, was given. The work amounted to just what was right and nothing that was wrong.

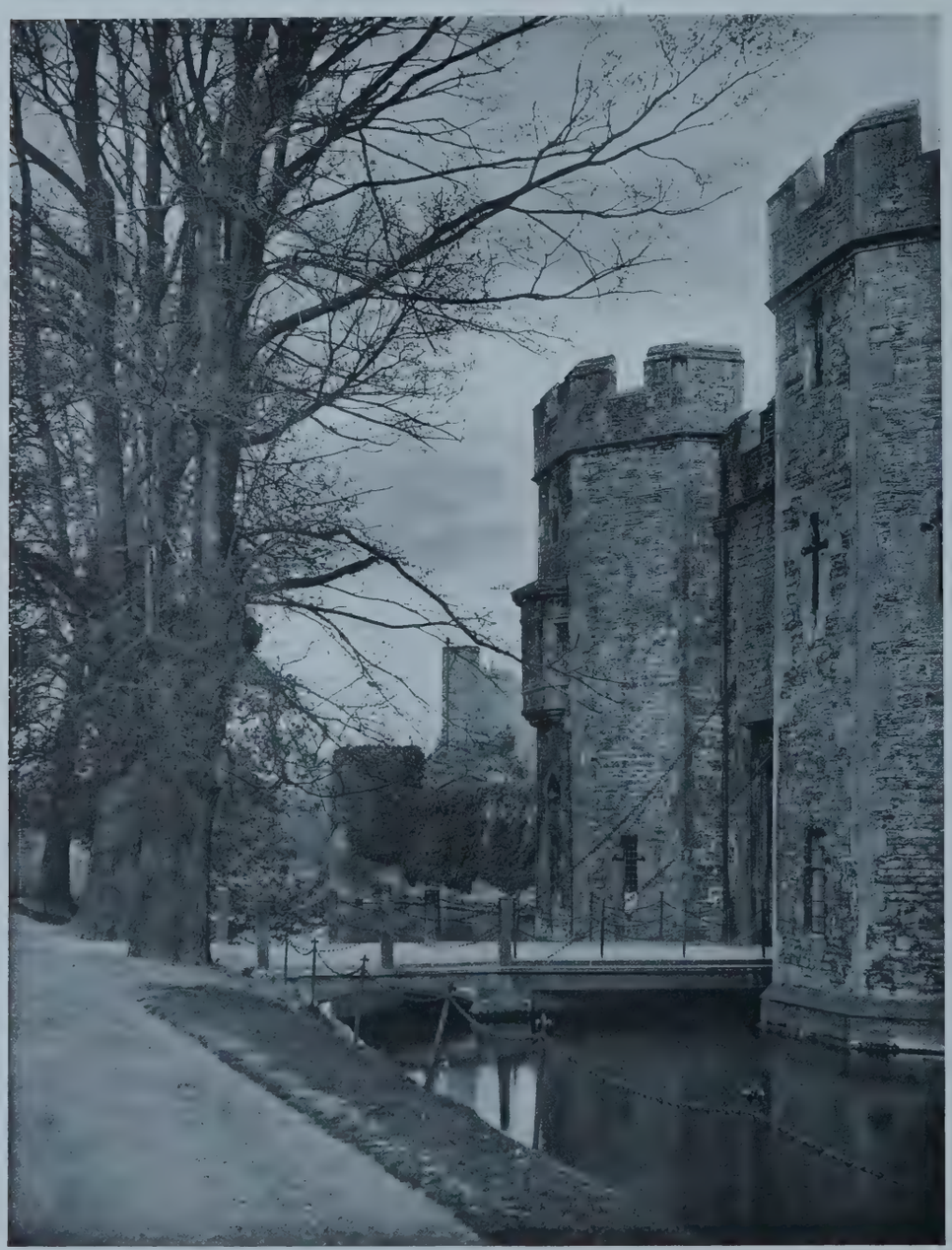
At Barnack, a score of miles away, a similar hall existed in the manor house which was destroyed in 1830. It will have been of smaller size than that at Oakham, which is 65ft. long by 43ft wide.

Another of far greater size, but dating half a century later, is that of Winchester Castle, 111ft. long by 56ft. wide. Great width, however, does not appear to have been held as very important, and, even in timber construction, the nave and aisle principle fell into disfavour, while in stone-built buildings it was never more than occasional for the layman's hall, and wholly neglected by monks for the monastic frater, which took the form of an unbroken oblong such as that surviving at St. Martin's Priory, Dover, which is 101ft. long by 27ft. wide. Such, too, are the superposed halls, nearly contemporary with that at Oakham, built at Durham Castle (Fig. 64) by Bishop Hugh Pudsey after he decided not to go on crusade with Richard I in 1190. Yet, at that time Richard's foster-brother, Alexander Neckam, author of "De Naturis Rerum," was setting down the characteristics of the house of the period and shows us that Oakham was typical

XVII.—IN THE HALL AT THE ABBOTS' GRANGE AT BROADWAY.

when he says, "in the hall let there be pillars at due intervals." His treatise and the surviving Royal accounts of the first Plantagenet kings were carefully studied by Hudson Turner when he prepared the Introduction of his volume on our Domestic Architecture in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, a work which, although written seventy years ago, has not been superseded. He tells us how Neckam—

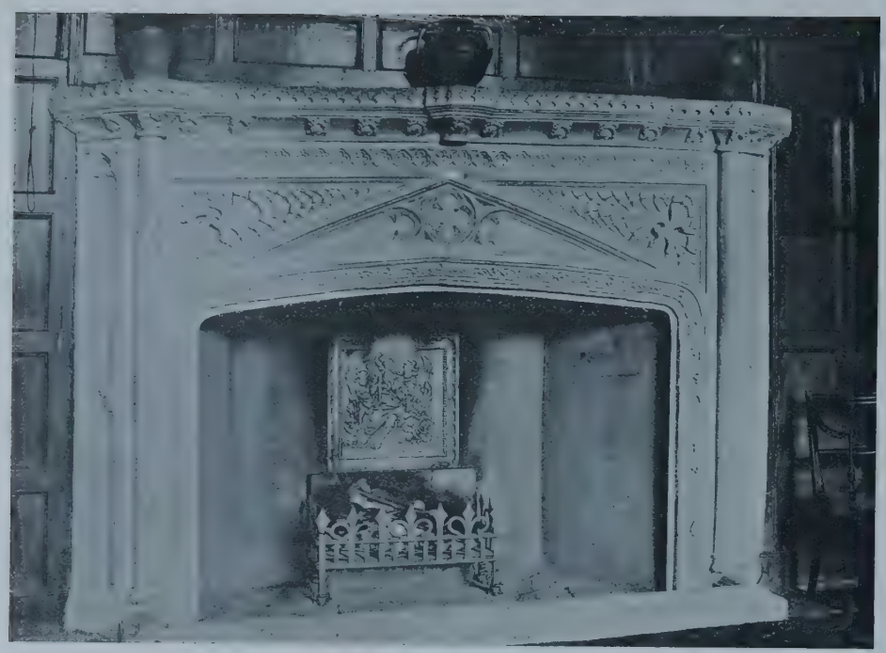
> in describing the various parts of a house enumerates the hall, the private or bed-chamber, the kitchen, the larder, the sewery, and the cellar. His notice may be applied generally to all domestic buildings of any magnitude in the twelfth century. Such, and no more chambers do the "King's houses" at Clarendon, Kensington, Woodstock, Portsmouth and Southampton, appear to have contained, according to the Exchequer accounts of the time of Henry the Second. The Hall is constantly referred to as the chief feature of all those edifices, and the only respect, probably, in which the houses of that monarch differed from the ordinary manor houses of his time was that they were on a greater scale, and had always a chapel annexed to them.



XVIII.—BISHOP RALPH'S GATE-HOUSE TO THE PALACE AT WELLS.

The chapel, however, was often an adjunct of so modest a country house as Little Wenham (Fig. 110), where it is almost part of what was a large living-room rather than a hall. Wenham, although not dating before the accession of Edward I, shows, in a small way, something of the keep plan, which, indeed, in the north and along the Scottish March survived for centuries in the shape of the Peel Tower. The reign of Henry III had seen, especially for the accommodation of that art-loving king, considerable advance in house planning and house decoration, of which the surviving Liberate Rolls of his reign yield valuable evidence. We find mention of aisles and columns in the halls of the King's houses at Woodstock and at Guildford, showing that they were of the type of Oakham. These were probably of twelfth century build and needed improvement. In place of four little windows in the Woodstock hall gable the King orders "one great round becoming window with glass lights." Many orders are given for new, larger and more light-giving windows, and these and some old ones are filled with white glass, or "pictured," such as

xix.—STAIRWAY ASCENDING TO THE VICAR'S CLOSE BRIDGE AT WELLS.



XX.—FIFTEENTH CENTURY CHIMNEYPIECE IN THE DEANERY AT WELLS.

XXI.—IN DEAN GUNTHORPE'S STATE APARTMENT: WELLS DEANERY.
The oak panelled dividing wall is original, but has been set back and the upper panels removed to serve the present purpose of a chapel.

the "four Evangelists in the glass windows of the King's hall" at Clarendon, or at Nottingham, where all the wooden windows are to be re-made in the King's great hall and great chamber, and "without the door" of the latter a great glass window is to have "the image of St. Martin stretching forth his cloak to the beggar." Glass windows are to open and close, so that air and light and yet protection from weather were now customary in well appointed dwellings. Chimney shafts, also, were no longer merely driven through the walls, but were carried up them, and orders for improving and raising existing chimneys and building new ones are frequent. The fireplaces are now hooded and the hood often decorated, as in the Queen's Chamber at Westminster, where there is "to be pourtrayed a figure of Winter which as well by its sad countenance as by other miserable distortions of the body may be deservedly likened to Winter itself." At several houses her chamber walls have flowers painted on the whitewashed plaster, but the wainscoting of the royal apartments is common, the said wainscot not always being of English oak, but sometimes, as in Prince Edward's chamber at Winchester, of "Norway boards of fir." The wood was habitually painted, the treatment occasionally

xxii.—NORTH SIDE OF WELLS DEANERY, *temp.* EDWARD IV.

simple but more often decorated with figure subjects or "histories." Additions are planned on a liberal scale, such as the new royal apartments at Windsor, where the King's chamber is 60ft. long, the Queen's 40ft. and the chapel 70ft., with a width of 28ft. At Dublin a noble new hall is ordered in 1244:

> The justices of Ireland are directed to cause to be built in Dublin Castle a hall containing one hundred and twenty feet in length and eighty feet in width, with sufficient windows and glass casements, after the fashion of the hall at Canterbury; and they are to make in the gable over the dais a round window thirty feet in circumference; and also to paint over the same dais a king and queen sitting with their baronage; and they are to build a great portal at the entry of the same hall.

At the comparatively unimportant King's house at Luggershall the size and quality of the accommodation is more akin to the typical country house of the time. The order is given in 1245 for—

> a new hall in place of the old hall which is to be sixty feet long and forty feet wide, with four upright windows, and a certain pantry and buttery at the end of the same hall; and two kitchens are to be made, one for the King's use, the other for the use of his household; and the King's chamber and the Queen's chamber to be wainscoted; and the stairs of the King's chamber to be put up; and the outer chambers there to be repaired.

XXIII.—GABLES AT SOUTH PETHERTON MANOR HOUSE.

A hundred years later Sir John Poultney built his new house at Penshurst (page 168) very much of this size and arrangement, except that a single kitchen sufficed when a sovereign was not concerned. Poultney was a wealthy man, building on a large scale, and his 39ft. span of hall exceptional. More modest contemporary manors like Brinsop (page 134) were satisfied with a width of something over 20ft., while, later Chalfield only just reached that number (page 314). The effort to dispose the accommodation in the normal manner, when the fortress and not the manor house type was adopted, is generally evident, but not always successful, especially when the castle is of different dates and remodelled by successive mediæval owners as at Caldicot (page 67). Even at Carnarvon, which, if it took half a century to build, was on an unaltered plan, the kitchens were on one side of the inner bailey and the great hall on the other, while the royal apartment occupied the King's gate-house (page 91). But at other rather later castles we find a satisfactory solution of the problem of combining defensive and domestic planning. Lumley (page 248), despite the Vanbrugh alterations, still shows the Edwardian concentric and keepless

XXIV.—NORTH ELEVATION OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY HALL AT COKER COURT.

castle scheme subserving and not warping the mediæval house plan. Here also is perceptible the desire for that architectural co-ordination of parts which in the fifteenth century quite strongly called for balance if not yet for complete symmetry. Helped by the lessening size but increasing number of rooms, this produced a more carefully planned and closely knit dwelling, although, even at Chalfield, with its balanced gables, the hall maintains its independent ridge and general outline (page 316).

If, during the Middle Ages, the residential quarter of the country house was slow in developing and extending, it was not so as regards the numerous adjoining, and, indeed, incorporated, sections called forth to meet the increasing needs, and even luxuries, of a large establishment living at close quarters and organised as a mainly self-supporting community. The feeding, clothing, arming and harnessing of the lord, of his dependants and of his animals were essentially the result of home production, and as isolation was not without danger, the living and working accommodation of man and beast was largely contrived within a single, if divided, enclosure. The towered and curtained inner and outward wards of the castle were so ordered as to contain all this, but the more open manor house was on the same plan, although the enclosure was no more than was called for to obtain security against night marauders or casual rioters. Hence the amplitude of the space we find shut in by wall and outbuilding or girt round by moat in surviving examples. It was usual to enter by a farmery court, representing a castle's outer bailey, and thence reach a second court across which and facing the entrance stood the hall porch. As civilisation developed and it was no longer needful, and certainly not mete, to approach a lordly seat through a dirty farmyard, the latter, where the original house remained, was moved away, or was retained, but remodelled for extended house accommodation, as at Penshurst. Where the place has fallen from its high estate and remains on the farm basis, the original idea, with later farm additions, may still be found, as at Markenfield (page 125). The ruins of South Wingfield Manor in Derbyshire still allow one to see the full plan (Fig. 348) of this arrangement on a large and splendid scale.

Thus, not only the castle, but also the manor house was apt to have two gate-houses designed for use, but possessing architectural presence (as at Tisbury, Fig. vi). The castle scheme was generally of a two or three storeyed building pierced by an archway and flanked by turrets, standing as the central object of a composition having end towers and connecting curtain walls as its other ingredients. Maxstoke (Fig. 249) and Bodiam (Fig. 273) are examples of this in Warwickshire and Kent, while East Anglia is well represented by the south or remaining side of Wingfield Castle in Suffolk (Fig. xiii). Carried by the Wingfield heiress to the de la Poles by her marriage with the first Suffolk earl of that family, it was the seat and burial-place of the murdered minister of Henry VI, second earl and first duke; and this fine example of flint building, its great outward windows proclaiming it a castle in name only, will have been begun by his father, who obtained licence to crenellate in 1385 but completed by himself before his fall in 1450. The fine depressed pointed entrance archway, deeply recessed and moulded, still shows the portcullis groove and the old wooden gates (Fig. xi). The inner elevation (Fig. xii) is quite distinct from the outer, having a narrower centre and smaller turrets. For narrowness, however, the Powis Castle entrance is most remarkable (Fig. xiv). There, owing to the exiguous width of the rocky site at that point, the whole side consists of two round towers, so near together that space for the entrance arch between them was only obtained by cutting off their curves up to the point where the fine series of mouldings surmounting the arch reaches the facia of the wall (Fig. xv). Though the windowing is modern, the fabric is still typical of the Edwardian North Wales manner and is not unlike the Harlech gate-house. From the colour of the local stone this stronghold of the lords of Powis was called the Red Castle. Thus it assimilates excellently with its surroundings, as generally happens when resort is had to local material. It must be confessed, however, that necessity rather than the æsthetic sense dictated this use in mediæval times, for where trouble and expense were not deterrents, long distances were covered. Thus, even the Normans brought Caen stone across the sea for their finest work in our southern counties, such as Arundel keep (Fig. 30), and the Barnack quarries not only produced stone for its own and neighbouring Northamptonshire churches, but supplied the facing (page 5) of the great de Vere keep at Hedingham, sixty miles distant as

the crow flies. That, however, was a very unusual practice; the rule was to use what was at hand and needed the least transport, and hence comes not merely the local colouring, but the local forms and local craftsmanship that give a special and altogether engaging stamp to different districts. Thus the " wattle and daub " filling in of the interspaces in oak construction was a specialised craft by the thirteenth century, certainly. Oak laths or osier twigs were loosely set in grooves of the framing as a rough open trellising, and sometimes mortar, but more often suitable earth, mixed with chopped rushes, straw or hay, was then applied by professional daubers, who appear in the monkish Latin as *luti appositores*. Even in districts were easily worked stone abounded oak framing was by no means altogether superseded, interior walls and partitions being often so constructed where the outer walls were of stone. And where, as in Shropshire and Herefordshire, the local red sandstone was either hard to get and work, or crumbling, oak framing largely continued for all edifices—sometimes including churches—where resistance to attack was not a determining factor. Where stone was used, its special character told on architectural treatment and detail. The flint walls and thatched or leaden roofs of East Anglia contrast with the rubble walls, ashlar dressings and stone tile roofs of the Cotswold region as exemplified at the delightful little grange of the Pershore Abbots at Broadway (Fig. xvi). It was admirably

XXV.—SOUTH ELEVATION OF NEVILL HOLT, LEICESTERSHIRE.
Taken from an aeroplane.

repaired and refitted by the late Mr. Frank Millet, who used it as the setting of many of his pictures. Though subjected to certain later, in some cases Jacobean, alterations, the main fabric is attributed to William de Hervington, who saw the first three Edwards on the throne during his long occupation of the abbacy. The hall is a very perfect specimen on a modest scale. The kitchen and buttery, reached through the two north doorways (Fig. xvii), have wholly disappeared and may have been of wood. On their site Mr. Millet built a studio, and since his death the whole building has been converted into a charming dwelling without detriment to the ancient portions. The entire Cotswold district, stretching far beyond its portion of Gloucestershire into Oxfordshire and Northamptonshire, being rich in excellent material for both roofing and walling, early developed an able and ambitious school of building craftsmen, and the same is equally true of Somerset with its abundant ashlar. There building most especially flourished in the fifteenth century, and its church towers of that age are particularly fine and famous. But so also was its domestic architecture, both lay and clerical. This may well be studied within the area of the Close at Wells. Much of the earlier building, such as Bishop Ralph's fourteenth century gate-house to his palace (Fig. xviii), has walls of rubble, ashlar being confined to the dressings; but not so later work, like the Deanery, which was largely rebuilt by John Gunthorpe who was made Dean in 1472, and

XXVI.—THOMAS PALMER'S PORCH AND ORIEL AT NEVILL HOLT.

xxvii.—INTERIOR OF THE ORIEL AT NEVILL HOLT.

by one of his immediate predecessors. To the latter we must assign the elaborately carved chimneypiece now in the Elizabethan hall (Fig. xx). It closely resembles one in the bishop's palace, and, as to them, the present dean (the Very Reverend J. Armitage Robinson) tells us that :

> In Cheddar church there is a tomb which so strongly resembles these two fireplaces that we seem to have the hand of the very same mason. The curious leaf-pattern in the spandrels of the arch, the vine-leaves and grapes in the lower border, and other details of ornamentation recur in all three, though with some variety of arrangement. Happily we can date the Cheddar tomb, for it is the monument of Sir Thomas de Cheddar, who died in 1442. It is most probable that this fireplace was originally in the great hall which was built in the early part of the fifteenth century.

Dean Gunthorpe was responsible for the whole of the north side of the deanery quadrangle, which " offers an almost unrivalled example of the Perpendicular style of the close of the fifteenth century as applied to domestic architecture." The badges of Edward IV fix it as Late Plantagenet and not Early Tudor work. Below the sun badge of the King on the oriel (Fig. xxii) guns protrude. Guns were quite to the fore in the Wars of the Roses, and the Dean made ample use of them as a decorative rebus on his name, just as the rather earlier Bishop Beckington had set a fiery

XXVIII.—KIDDAL HALL : FROM THE SOUTH.

barrel—Beacon-tun—on all the buildings for which he was responsible. Over an undercroft the dean disposed not, as has been thought, " a hall with screen and solar, but state apartments or reception rooms on a dignified scale," dividing them, not with a stone wall, but, as already indicated as customary, with a massive oak framework, in this case filled in with panels (Fig. xxi). This floor and that above were reached by the usual winding stairway. Not till the days of Elizabeth did the idea of a spacious internal staircase, with convenient half landings, take general hold. Yet the early mediæval builders knew the value of a dignified ascent. We have seen such in the twelfth century keep forebuildings, where the one at Castle Rising (Fig. 16) is comparable to the noble stone stair at Wells (Fig. xix) that sweeps up to reach the arched bridge which, by Bishop Beckington's bequest, was thrown over the road to give covered access from the vicar's close to the cathedral.

The oriel at the Wells deanery, with its rich carvings within and without, was a very favourite fifteenth century feature, and we find another Somerset example at the house, called " Ina's Palace," at South Petherton (page ix). The manor belonged to a junior branch of the de Albinis,

who came to spell their name Daubeny. A Sir Giles Daubeny, who died in 1445, lies with his two wives in the church, and his son, who " seems to have been altogether resident in South Petherton," or his grandson, who became Lord Daubeny, will be responsible for what ancient work remains at the manor house, which J. H. Parker, who published and carried on Hudson Turner's " Domestic Architecture," called " the most perfect fifteenth century house in Europe." Somewhat decayed, it was purchased in 1862 by Mr. Edward Gale, who turned it into a modern house, so that its admirable interior features are lost. Fortunately, the exterior has suffered less, and the vigorously carved finial beasts (Fig. xxiii) and other sculptures are in perfect condition.

Another oriel of great dignity and finish (Fig. xxvi) survives at Nevill Holt, on the borders of Leicester and Rutland. The hall porch and bay are the principal remnants of the house (Fig. xxv) which—as we see by an impaled shield—Thomas Palmer built after his second marriage and before his death in 1476. The projection of the wing beyond the hall gives a corner form to the oriel, as of three and a half sides of an octagon. These have at their angles buttresses shaped as shafted columns, whose capitals are platforms on which sejant heraldic beasts are set. The outer ones are clearly lions, but the one in the centre is less easily named. The head is rather boar-like in its snout, but yet it is connected with the masonry at its back by what have the appearance of antlered horns. It must therefore represent the antelope, ducally gorged and chained, which is among the badges used by kings of the houses of both York and Lancaster. The sculptor employed by Thomas Palmer claimed some licence in his treatment of the animal world, and the delightful bestiary which adorns the large hollow moulding of the upper string-course of the porch presents several beasts not known at the Zoological Gardens.

XXIX.—THE HALL ORIEL AT KIDDAL.

The oriel is two storeyed, having a little room within its upper half and below the exquisite stone-groined ceiling of the hall bay (Fig. xxvii), with its quatrefoil panels and richly carved bosses. A humble but very delightful oriel was added to the little Yorkshire manor house of Kiddal (Figs. xxviii and xxix) in 1500, an Early Tudor addition to a Plantagenet house which shows no break in style, although it has not the purely Gothic character of the stone oriel jutting out from the timber-framed hall of Gainsburgh (Fig. 314). There we also find a large use of the brick which came into general use in the non-stone regions during the reign of Henry VI. The absence of all trace of the word before his time and the sparse survival of brick-built construction of earlier date, led authorities, such as Professor Thorold Rogers, to conclude that bricks were not made in England between the departure of the Romans and the middle of the fifteenth century. In that case the material for Little Wenham (page 92) and other East Anglian brick buildings of early date must have come overseas from Flanders. That is unlikely, and more recent investigators, such as Mr. John Bilson, have established the continuity of brick-making in our island. No one, it is true, has found the word " Brike " occurring before 1437, but there are abundant indications of the manufacture of the article itself long before that. It is noticeable that many of the most important Henry VI constructions—such as the Castles of Tattershall (page 284), Caister and Hurstmonceux and Heron Court—were built by men who had warred in France with Henry V. It has been suggested that they saw there fine examples of brick architecture in stoneless districts

XXX.—IN WESTMINSTER HALL.

like the Bourbonnais, and that they brought the fashion and the word home with them. But long before this there were erected in England no inconsiderable number of well finished, if less ambitious, buildings formed of home-baked clay blocks called wall tiles. Thus the surviving Beverley Bar, at one time held to date from 1450–60, was completed in 1410, as proved by the full accounts of the corporate body in that year. Mr. Bilson's analysis shows that 112,300 bricks were bought from twenty different persons at an average cost of 3s. 7¼d. per 1,000, but they are invariably called by the generic Latin word *tegulæ* or the specific English appellation of wall tiles. The Bar (Fig. xxxiii), which remains little damaged, shows an advanced condition of brick making, as, besides the ordinary wall tiles, 3,200 " squynchons " were procured at 4s. 3d. per 1,000, they being the chamfered bricks used for jambs, arches and vault-ribs. Mr. Bilson also finds that at York in 1404 " walle tiells " were made at 5s. 2½d. per 1,000, and " thack tiells " (thatch or roof tiles) at 10s. 3½d. per 1,000, the double cost of the latter

being usual at all places and dates. He holds that there is English brickwork of about 1315–20 date at the Chapel of the Holy Trinity at Hull, and has established the fact that the Corporation of that town were makers of *tegulæ* as early as 1303, at a price so much lower than any roof tiles that they must have been wall tiles, although the actual word " waltighel " does not appear in the accounts till 1353. Applied to both roof and wall craftsmen, the word " tyler " continues till well on in the days of Elizabeth at York, where members of one family are admitted freemen of the craft as follows :

36 H viii ; Willelmus Leng, tillour.
9 Eliz ; Willelmus Leng, tyllour, filius Willelmus Leng tyller.
16 „ ; Thomas Leng tyler, filius Willelmus Leng tyller.
41 „ ; Michelus Leng, brik layer, filius Willelmus Leng brick layer.

Thus the foreign attribution of all bricks found in England up to the date of the building of Tattershall under Henry VI, if not of Oxburgh (frontispiece) under Edward IV, may now safely be set down as quite erroneous, and we may feel certain that Wenham was altogether a

XXXI.—IN ELTHAM HALL.

home product, as also such contemporary work as the chapel barn at Coggeshall and the Penchester brick vaults at Allington (page 189).

Excellent, and often admirable, as were the English mediæval masons and sculptors in stone, yet the carpenters did not give place to them as capable designers and deft workers in the most invariably used material, for they had abundant outlet for their skill even where the wall

XXXII.—THE HALL SCREEN AT OCKWELLS MANOR.

structure was in other hands. The London carpenters, no doubt organised as a guild from early times, received, in 1477, a Charter of Incorporation from Edward IV, for whom, three years later, was built the hall of Eltham, where the roof remains as a noble example of the carpenter's craft (Fig. xxxi). Brinsop (Fig. 167) and Penshurst (Fig. 206) offer more modest specimens dating from the middle of the previous century, before the end of which Richard II had re-roofed the great hall at Westminster (Fig. xxx). It is the climax of mediæval carpentry and the finest surviving example of the Gothic open timber roof, with a span of 68ft. 4ins. The work, begun in 1394, was completed just before Richard's fall five years later, and involved large structural alterations to the fabric of the hall which William Rufus had originally added to the Palace of Westminster.

Together with the roof, the screens and gallery of the hall were a chosen field for the exercise of the mediæval carpenter's skill in design and execution. But, whereas roofs in some considerable measure survive, screens dating from before the sixteenth century are very rare. That at Penshurst (Fig. 197) is undoubtedly Late Gothic in its bulk and much of its detail, but with certain alterations and additions of an Early Renaissance character. Less altered is that at Ockwells (Fig. xxxii) dating from the reign of Edward IV. It is typical, in the solidity of the oak framework, the form of the panels and the detail of the mouldings, of this important feature of the entry into the fifteenth century manor house.

This short review of the chief characteristics of the planning, designing and decorating of our mediæval houses will be found supplemented in the narratives and descriptions that follow. For most I am entirely responsible, but in some cases I have re-edited articles written for "Country Life" by Sir Martin Conway, Mr. Mainwaring Johnston, Mr. Chas. Peers and the late Sir William St. John Hope, and have made no larger alterations and abstractions than were demanded by the purposes and length of this volume.

XXXIII.—BEVERLEY BAR.
Built in 1410 *of locally made bricks.*

HEDINGHAM CASTLE, ESSEX

THERE are few buildings in this country that can compare with the great castle-keep at Hedingham for solemn grandeur, excellence of preservation and beauty of setting. It comes upon one with a shock of surprise, whether seen for the first or the twentieth time—a great cliff of grey stone, gilded by the morning sun or purple under the storm-cloud, flushed with a rosy pink at sunset or silvered in the light of the full moon, it rises from its steep, flat-topped mound four-square, backed by noble trees, beneath it to the east the mellow red brick bridge (Fig. 13) of early Tudor days, and the Georgian house of the Ashhursts (Fig. 12)—both things of yesterday compared with the great stone keep of the proud De Veres. Its very isolation is an element in its impressiveness. One looks in vain for the forebuilding that once rose on its western side—now a crumbling mound of rubble—for the great wall of *enceinte* and chain of towers that encircled it, for the lofty gateway tower, or barbican, that stood to the south-west, and for the hall, pantries and chapel and all the lesser buildings, the stables, barns, brewhouse, granaries and kitchens, that were once grouped around the keep. All are now represented only by massive foundations and grass-grown mounds; and from the fact of these foundations being almost

1.—THE APPROACH FROM THE VILLAGE.

entirely of brick the inference may be drawn that the original buildings, save the wall and its towers, were chiefly of timber, and so remained till the latter part of the fifteenth century.

The family of De Vere, inseparably bound up with the history of Hedingham and its castle, can be carried back to a man who took part with William in the conquest of England, and is conjectured to have come from a village called Ver on the river of the same name below Coutances. This Aubrey De Vere may have held the lordship of Ver, or, perhaps, he was a younger brother of the lord. He was rewarded by a substantial share of the spoils when the conquest of England was a *fait accompli*, being given, *in capite*, lands in five counties. He probably found at Hedingham, when he came to take possession, a conical mound that had served well enough for a stronghold in Saxon and probably earlier times. He would seem to have levelled the crown of this and to have extended its area, so that it forms in effect a raised and moated plateau. Hereon he will have built a stockaded timber fortalice, with little, if any, stonework towers. But conditions had altered by the time his son, the second Aubrey, succeeded, and it is to him that the building of the great stone keep (Fig. 2) may be unhesitatingly ascribed. He was a personage of great importance in the realm, and married Adeliza, daughter of the powerful Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Hertford. In 1106 Henry I made him Lord Great Chamberlain of England, an office he was to hold " to himself and his heirs, with all dignities and privileges thereunto belonging."

He returned safe from the first crusade and was long-lived for the violent days that marked the first half of the twelfth century ; but even so he did not die in his bed, but was killed in a popular tumult in London on May 15th, 1141. A prudent and upright man, he earned the confidence of King Henry I, and was employed by Stephen to compel divers of the barons and warlike bishops to yield to him their castles that they held against the King, such as Roger, Bishop of Sarum (1102–39), an " unscrupulous, fierce and avaricious " prelate who had seized the vast treasure he had laid up during his Chancellorship. Engaged as he was in his Royal master's quarrels when the land was filled with violence, rapine and bloodshed, Aubrey II would need a formidable stronghold of his own to which to retire in the intervals of campaigning ; and the great stone tower at Hedingham is proof to-day that he built strongly and wisely ; for, saving where parts have been torn out or broken down, the work remains in a startling condition of perfection.

He succeeded his father in 1088, and between that date and his death in 1141 he carried out this great piece of building. But this long period of over half a century is too vague for our purpose, and fortunately comparative evidence comes to our help. There are so many features of resemblance between the keep towers of Rochester (Fig. 1) and Hedingham that there can be little doubt that they are the work of the same *ingeniator*, or architect, and as the larger tower, at Rochester, was built in 1125 or soon after, we may safely place Hedingham in the decade 1130–40, and with this the details of its architecture agree precisely (Fig. 5). The work belongs to the last phase of pure Norman, before the culminating period when it revelled in profusion of ornament, as at Castle Rising (page 13) and Durham (page 60), and was then gradually displaced by the pointed arch which marks the transition to the Gothic style.

The approach to the castle from the village, which lies to the westward, is well shown in Fig. 1, while in Fig. 2 we have a charming picture of the keep as seen from the south-east, across the beautiful water still called by its old Norman name of the Canal.

Down to 1917 the keep, though lacking its battlemented parapet and the turrets on its south-west and north-east angles, retained a leaden roof and floors and was in a habitable state, the great hall or audience chamber on the second floor above the ground storey being appropriately furnished. But in that year the military, who employed the keep as a signalling station, by most culpable carelessness in the use of a stove set fire to the roof, with the result that the whole interior became a prey to the flames, and not only the roof and floors, but much valuable old furniture and many family possessions stored for safety in the basement chambers were burnt to ashes. Great as was this calamity, however, it is cause for deep thankfulness that, beyond scaling off much of the interior plaster and calcining the surface of the stonework to a

2.—THE KEEP REFLECTED IN THE WATERS OF THE "CANAL."

blush-pink, the fire has left the massive Norman walls uninjured, while revealing the extensive patchings in red brickwork effected by the Ashhurst family during their ownership in the eighteenth century.

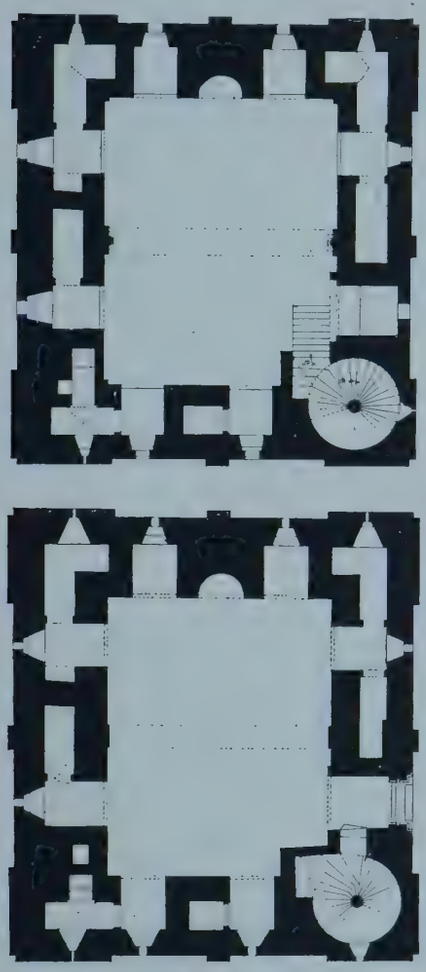
Approaching the keep from the west (Fig. 3) and climbing on to the ruined forebuilding by the stone steps we reach the grand Norman doorway (Fig. 8); but before passing to the

3.—THE WEST AND SOUTH SIDES OF THE KEEP.
The ruins of the forebuilding and the entrance doorway are seen on the west side.

interior we may take a more detailed view of the exterior. There are five storeys, viz., ground floor or basement, first or entrance floor, second floor containing the audience chamber, third or gallery floor, making a sort of triforium round the audience chamber, and fourth floor, in which were the living and sleeping quarters of the garrison, and from which, through the doorway in the return wall of the north-west turret (in which was the one great circular stair

from top to bottom), the sentinels or defenders could gain access to the parapet walk behind the battlements. Plans of the first and second floors, reproduced from Mr. Cecil Brewer's admirable drawings, are given (Fig. 4).

The plan is not an exact square, the exterior dimensions above the great battering plinth, excluding pilaster buttresses, being 58ft. 3ins. north to south and 52ft. 6ins. east to west. The external walls are 11ft. thick, excepting the eastern, which is 12ft. 6ins. In comparison with Rochester Keep (page xiv) it will be seen that Hedingham is somewhat smaller, having an interior measurement of 36ft. by 29ft. for Hedingham as against 46ft. for Rochester. The total height of Hedingham is 28ft. less than Rochester, allowing for the loss of the battlemented parapet, viz., 85ft. As to the materials of which the sister keeps are constructed, while Rochester is built of Kentish rag rubble with dressings of Caen stone, Hedingham is of flint concrete entirely faced with the wonderfully hard and durable oolite from Barnack, Northamptonshire, and it is this fact that gives such an exceptionally architectural and monumental quality to the Hedingham Keep, coupled with the rigidity of the vertical lines and the sharply struck masonry courses of even width throughout, so that at a slight distance they appear as if ruled with a fine pen upon a drawing-board, resembling the perfection of finish one associates with a Greek temple rather than with a mediæval fortress. Coupled with this severity of outline and mass we note an almost entire absence of moulding and ornament. No string-course breaks the sheer verticality of the lines of turret and pilaster buttress which rise majestically from the battering courses and chamfered plinth at the base. As measured on the north side, these battering courses and the plinth that surmounts them each measure 11ins. in width, making a total height of 6ft. 6ins. from the ground, and this 11ins. seems to be the standard width of each course from top to bottom of the keep, giving, with the joints, an average of 1ft. External



4.—PLANS OF THE FIRST AND SECOND FLOORS OF THE KEEP.

5.—DETAIL OF WINDOWS ON THE WEST SIDE.

6.—THE ARCHWAY SPANNING THE SECOND FLOOR OR AUDIENCE CHAMBER.
The recent fire having destroyed the ceiling, the fourth floor room is visible above the gallery that runs round the audience chamber.

7.—FIREPLACE OF THE FIRST FLOOR OR ENTRANCE HALL.

ornament was confined to the three upper tiers of windows (Fig. 5), the lowest having a double roll to the arch, and jamb-shafts, the intermediate pairs of windows with a single roll moulding to the arch (the centre pier is now of brick), and the uppermost having an arch of two orders, the outer richly moulded with two rows of chevron or zigzag on enriched scalloped capitals. The inner order is a great half-round in section; and none of the windows has a label or projecting hood-moulding—another instance of the severe restraint that the purpose of the building imposed.

It may be remarked that the castle was only once besieged, and that in the reign of King John, when the keep, at any rate, seems to have suffered no damage. It was reserved for later generations to work grievous injury to the fabric. Two wide openings for farm carts were cut through into the ground storey on its east side in the eighteenth century, and before the Ashhurst family came into possession a whole-hearted attempt had been made to pull down the keep and sell the magnificent stone; but its solid building making the business too costly, the damage done went little beyond demolishing two of the angle turrets and the battlemented parapet and mutilating some of the windows. Fortunately, the Ashhurst who purchased the estate about 1700 put on a roof and patched up the broken walls with brickwork, making no attempt to house himself within it, but building a new house beyond the moat on the site of the outer court (Fig. 12).

A comparison with the surviving forebuilding at Castle Rising (page 17) enables us to understand how a flight of steps, rising to a vestibule, brought the visitor to the entrance doorway (Fig. 8). Its half-round arch, enriched with three rows of chevrons, rests on engaged shafts with scalloped capitals (Fig. 10). It opens, as seen in the plan (Fig. 4), into the first floor hall, a room somewhat similarly disposed, and having much the same fireplace (Fig. 7) as the audience chamber above, but only 18ft. high and lacking the chevron ornament to its

8.—THE ENTRANCE DOORWAY.

It opens into the first floor hall and was originally reached from the forebuilding stairway and vestibule.

9.—ONE OF THE EIGHT WINDOW RECESSES OF THE AUDIENCE CHAMBER.

10.—A CAPITAL OF THE ENTRANCE DOORWAY.

11.—DOORWAY FROM THE NEWEL STAIR TO THE AUDIENCE CHAMBER GALLERY.

window recesses. Leading off these are wall passages and cupboards which may have served various purposes; thus, in the centre of the north wall was probably the pipe of the keep well; while in the north-east angle is a garderobe which, with one immediately above this in the storey over, is served by a long rectangular shaft in the ground floor, communicating, no doubt, with a drain or cesspit. One does not often see twelfth century sanitary arrangements in so perfect a state. A point also to be noted on this floor is the ingenious and complicated planning of the stairs to combine upward and downward with landing uses.

The same remarks apply to the second floor plan, in which, again, there are more cupboards and recessed passages contrived in the thickness of the walls of the noble and lofty hall or audience chamber (Fig. 6), 38ft. 3ins. by 31ft. and 27ft. high from floor to ceiling, embracing two storeys, a triforium gallery or passage being carried completely round the upper part, and covered by a barrel vault. The eight window recesses (Fig. 9) which are carried down to the floor are very richly treated with circular arches of two rows of chevrons and nook-shafts having scalloped capitals. One window recess in the west wall is wider and of two orders. The window-heads within these recesses are similarly treated, and the fireplace in the south wall (tailpiece page 12), set between a pair of these windows, is a richer edition of that on the first floor. It has the abacus of the window nook-shafts carried over its arch as a label; the arch is of double chevron work, and the right-hand scalloped capital has a cable beading to the abacus. There are minute variations in the mouldings of the arches, capitals and bases throughout, attesting the love of variety inherent in the twelfth century craftsman. This fireplace has the same circular back as in the floor below and as those at Rochester. The upper gallery arches have plain angle-rolls and nook-shafts, and in the angles

of the hall are shafts carried from floor to ceiling. But the really astonishing feature of this great hall and of the castle is the magnificent semicircular arch that spans it from west to east; yet the arch is of the airiest construction, being only 18ins. deep with a width of 3ft. 6ins., and moulded in two orders of undercut rolls. True, its function was to act as a bridge for the floor girders only, and it had very ample abutments; nevertheless, the daring and imagination of the builders who conceived it strike the beholder with amazement. The great span (29ft.) and rise (13½ft.) of the arch are the more marked because of the responds or piers being only 7ft. high. They have boldly scalloped capitals and bases of shallow round and hollow mouldings, and the central shaft is flanked by flat pilasters with nook-shafts. There are no signs of failure, no cracks or settlements; it is a truly marvellous piece of mason's work. On the soffit of the arch, in the hollow between the two roll mouldings, are marks as of the centering, or of a wooden screen that may have filled the opening at one time. This airy arch would in itself mark the advance made in the decade that practically separates Hedingham from its elder sister Rochester, where we have seen (Fig. iii) the same space occupied by four arches.

The fourth or top floor room (which, now that the intervening floor is burnt out, is seen in Fig. 6) is marked by lowness and plainness inside, being about ten feet from floor to ceiling, with two windows in each wall—the windows that are so richly treated with chevron work outside (Fig. 5). Its walls are 8ft. 3ins. thick on all sides save the east, where the thickness is 10ft. The flint walling is here largely exposed. There are four round-arched recesses, one on each wall between a pair of windows, and that in the south wall may have served as a fireplace.

It may be doubted if any architectural ornament was ever invented that charms the eye so completely as the chevron or zigzag—its ripple, its life and movement, suggesting sunlight and water, the tender half-shades and the sharp black shadows—all these may be studied to advantage at Castle Hedingham.

Among other details there are bases to the angle shafts that have a sort of rope or plaited ornament, and the doorway from the gallery to the stair (Fig. 11) has a continuous angle-roll ornamented from the springing downwards, but not the arch, with twisted bands of pearls or pellets.

The angle turrets, like the main walls of the keep, were originally crowned by battlements, as they still are at Rochester; but these have been pulled down for the sake of the stone, thus depriving the keep of about nine feet of its original height. Behind this parapet, which was 2ft. thick, was a broad paved walk about five and a half feet wide which, passing through arched openings in the return faces of the turrets, enabled a sentry to follow a continuous walk.

The son of the builder of the keep was a Crusader like his father, but, unlike him, was a partizan of the Empress Matilda, who, after his father's death, confirmed him in his English possessions and granted him the reversion of the Oxford earldom, which his descendants in the male line continued to hold until the death of the twentieth earl in 1702. No doubt the earls of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries added to the accommodation if not to the strength of the castle. But it reached its greatest extent and splendour in the fifteenth century. John, thirteenth earl, joined the Earl of Richmond in 1484, fought with him at Bosworth in the following year and carried the Sword of State at the ensuing coronation. How much he did at Hedingham we learn from Leland, who, in his "Itinerary," tells us:

> Afore the old Earl of Oxford's tyme, that cam yn with Henry VII, the Castelle of Hedingham was yn much ruine; so that all the building that now ys there was yn a manner of this old Earl's building, except the gate-house and the great Dungeon.

Here it was that the earl gave a magnificent entertainment to the King, lines of retainers in the earl's livery being drawn up to do honour to the sovereign. But, as a very proper check to the baronial power and turbulence that had occasioned the Wars of the Roses, Henry had passed an Act setting narrow limits to the number of retainers. He took all the earl had to give him, but on leaving declared "I may not endure to have my laws broken in my sight." The fine of £10,000 imposed on the earl was a huge sum at the then value of money, and the sun of the De Vere fortunes began to set. The extravagance of the seventeenth earl led to the total neglect of

12.—THE NORMAN KEEP AND THE GEORGIAN HOUSE.

13.—THE EAST SIDE OF THE KEEP AND THE TUDOR BRICK BRIDGE.

the castle, of which he ordered the demolition before he alienated it to his father-in-law, Lord Burghley, in 1592. A survey was then made, preserved by the present owners of the estate, which gives views and names of the various buildings, such as " Hall and Pantries," " Great Chamber," etc. " The Gate-house, Stone," was of Edwardian or earlier date. But the " Great Brick Tower " will be of the thirteenth earl's build, and contemporary with it is probably the brick bridge across the moat (Fig. 13), having the keep rising up to the west, and to the east the house (Fig. 12), built in 1719 by Robert Ashhurst, the then owner, and from whom the Majendies, who now possess it, are descended.

THE AUDIENCE CHAMBER FIREPLACE AND FLANKING WINDOW RECESSES.

CASTLE RISING, NORFOLK

As we have seen at Rochester and Hedingham, the Norman keep was very essentially a place of strength rather than of amenity, so that massive severity is the most striking characteristic of its appearance. Within the surrounding or dependent wards there might be more lightly built and decoratively treated places of inhabitance; but the keep was to be held even if the outworks were lost, and, therefore, capacity for resistance to all then known forms of offensive attack was the primary, sometimes even the only, purpose of the designer. Castle Rising, however, while fulfilling such conditions, exhibits, in plan and decoration, some desire for the satisfaction of the senses. Its decorative detail vied with that of the neighbouring and contemporary church, and enough of it is left to enable us to form some mental picture of what it was like. Not in size, but in completeness of plan, state of preservation and elaboration of architectural features it is the most valuable of the surviving ruins of the quadrangular keeps that arose in England under Henry II.

The site was not then new; it had, indeed, long been a defensive position of importance. Occupying a point of the elevated ground which rises up from the marshy flats that border the Wash and then runs south-eastward into the woody hill land of Norfolk, it was chosen by the Celts to check invasion by water and, perhaps, hold in awe the unsettled inhabitants of the forest area. British assuredly are the immense earthworks, having an exterior girth of ditch computed at over 1,000yds. in length. They encompass a central and two flanking enclosures, and from the base of the ditch to the

14.—THE FOREBUILDING DOORWAY.
Leading to the stairway and vestibule, which form the approach to the first floor hall.

15.—FIRST FLOOR OF THE KEEP.

D *Vestibule.* E *Doorway from vestibule to hall.* F *Hall.* G *Gallery.* H *Kitchen.* I *Ante-chapel.* K *Chapel.* L *Upper part of the forebuilding.*

summit of the bank of the central enclosure there is a rise of 60ft., while the flat space within, in which the keep was afterwards built, has a surrounding bank 30ft. high, well seen on the left-hand side of the north elevation of the keep (Fig. 21). The Norman gate-house was inserted in it, and the rampart wall rose above it, some remains of both of these defensive structures appearing in the illustration. Succeeding the British, the Angles occupied, but do not seem to have highly esteemed, the place. It became a dependency or "bervite" of Snettisham, and as such was described by the Domesday Surveyors. It had been a possession of Archbishop Stigand, who may have built the little Saxon church of which the remnants were, in recent times, dug out of the sandy bank that had slipped down upon it. On Stigand's forfeiture it passed to the Conqueror's half-brother, Bishop Odo, who, as a partizan of Duke Robert against William Rufus, lost his vast estates in 1099, and Rising went to William de Albini, the royal pincerna, or butler. Himself an important and well rewarded Norman, his son rose to a higher position, for a year or two after Henry I's death in 1135 he married the widowed Queen Adeliza on whom the great castle and honour of Arundel had been bestowed, and who carried it to her second husband (page 21). Although his Sussex position and estates were far greater than his paternal acres in Norfolk, it is quite clear that these were not neglected and that the castle at Rising was built by him. Mr. G. T. Clark, in his "Mediæval Military Architecture," tells us that

> The *Keep* is a very noble example of the rectangular Norman type. Not that its area, still less its height, would place it in the first rank, but to considerable dimensions it adds a degree of ornament rarely bestowed upon military buildings, and though a ruin, its parts are unusually well preserved, and excellent both in material and workmanship. Like Hedingham, it stands within, but not in the centre of, the inner ward. It almost touches the slope of the western bank, and is about thirty yards from the gate house and the Eastern bank. Between the north and south banks it is nearly midway. It is in plan rectangular, measuring at the base 75 feet east and west by 64 feet north and south, and to the rampart walk 50 feet high.

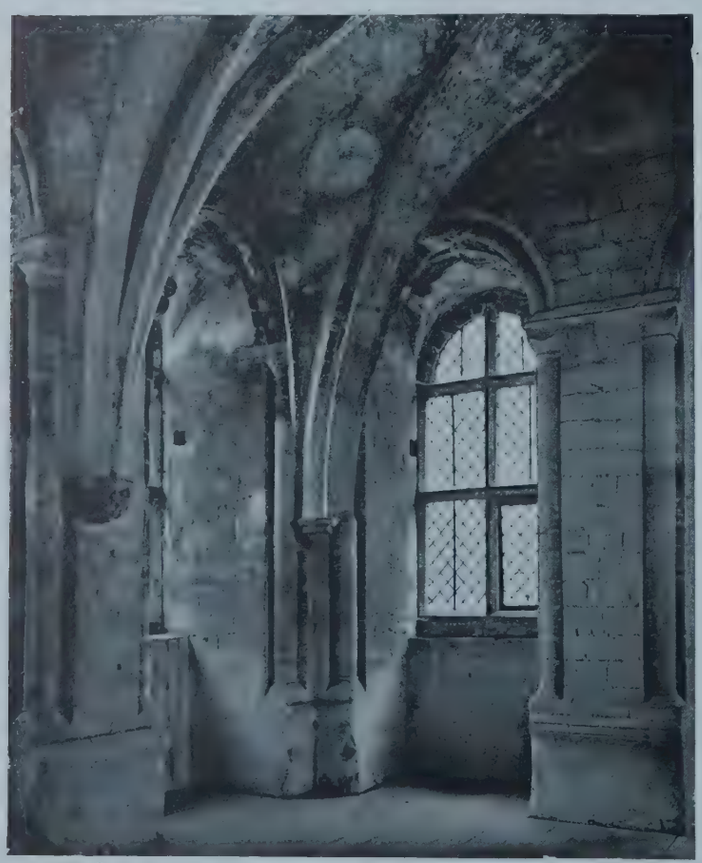
It will be noted that, although it much resembles Rochester in size and plan and has a very similarly designed forebuilding, yet it is very much lower, the hall rising to the roof and having only an undercroft beneath it. Dover and Norwich are among the other rectangular keeps that have a similar arrangement of forebuilding accommodating a stairway and vestibule that form the approach to the hall, and nearly all date within the first three-quarters of the twelfth century. Exactly when and how Albini was enabled to build and hold the greatly strengthened Castle of Rising we do not know. The Rochester keep dates from 1126 to 1139; that of Norwich somewhat later, but earlier than Rising. The ornateness of Rising connects it in date with the parish church to the north of it, of which the still surviving west front (Fig. 22) is called by Mr. E. Beloe, in a paper in the twelfth volume of the "Norfolk Archæologia," "perhaps the most elaborate specimen of the late Norman that exists." The first Albini earl lived till 1176 and probably built both church and keep late in life.

From the gate-house archway the forebuilding is visible. It takes the form of a three storeyed excrescence at the north-east corner of the keep, with a lower, narrower building, running from its south end along the rest of the east side of the keep, containing the 8ft. wide stairway (Fig. 16) entered from the south end and rising in two flights separated by a doorway which had its own means of defence. The forebuilding was the most ornate part of the exterior. The tall section has its buttresses flanked with shafts, and the large window openings of the vestibule are similarly treated. The stairway section has a fine portal (Fig. 19) and an interlaced arcading along the upper part of its

16.—THE STAIRWAY TO THE VESTIBULE.

17.—THE GREAT PORTAL FROM THE VESTIBULE TO THE HALL.

It is now filled in and converted into a fireplace. To the right is a doorway leading to the newel stair and the hall gallery.



18.—A CORNER OF THE NORMAN VESTIBULE.

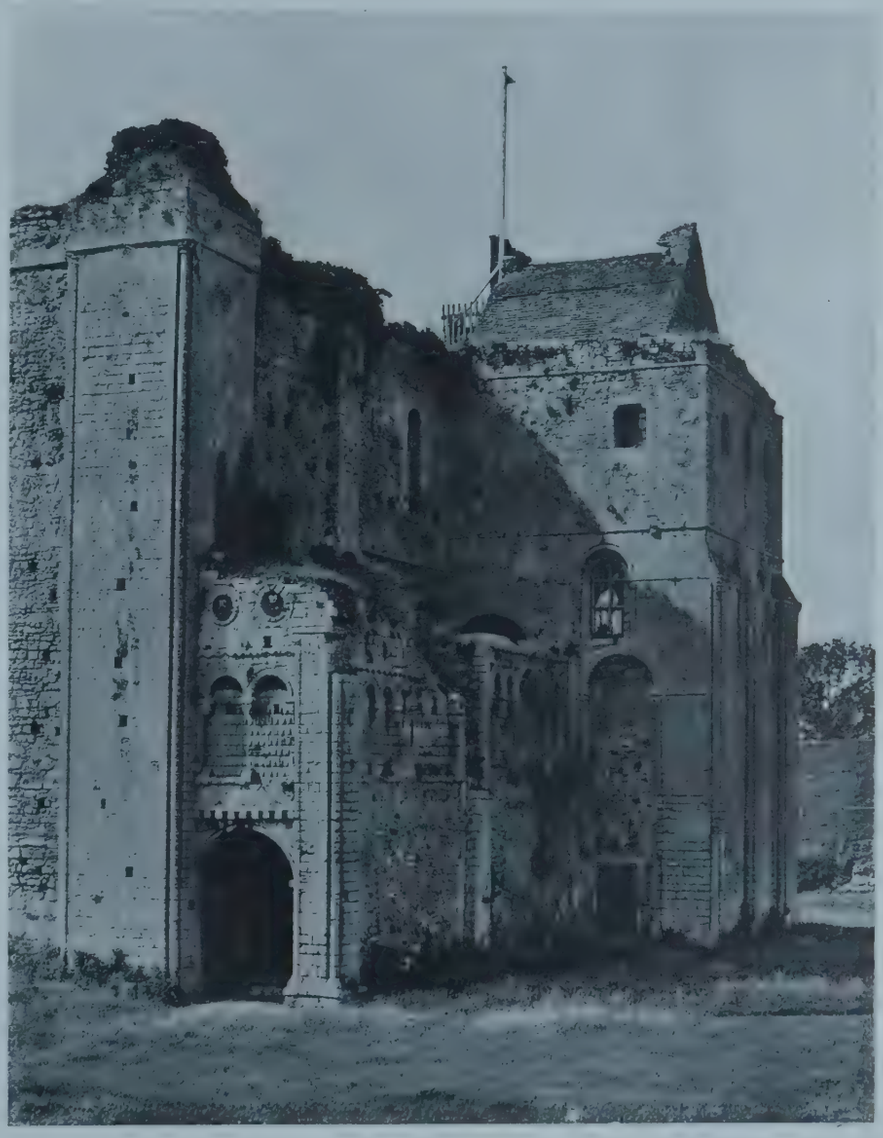
The vaulting is Late Gothic, and the window-filling Elizabethan.

side. Ascending the stairway we enter the vestibule, which, when the rest of the keep fell into decay, was still used as a room. But the deeply recessed portal—with four shafts on either side—that led into the hall was filled up and a fireplace therein contrived. This was simply and aptly done, the space over the fire-arch being lined with old tiles having a pressed pattern and originally finished with a yellow brown glaze, most of which has peeled off. Earlier changes in the vestibule were the insertion of a stone vault in Edwardian times, which, although it tries its best to avoid breaking the lines of the window openings, detracts from the Norman character of the room. The window openings themselves were evidently enlarged in late Elizabethan or Jacobean times without much disturbance of their Norman detail, and stone mullions and transoms inserted. The effect is pleasing enough, and, although the archæological interest of the room would have been greater if it had come through the centuries untouched, it is happy in having escaped " restoration " and in retaining the apt and characteristic styles of the changes that suited it to the needs of succeeding generations.

The plan of the first floor of the keep (Fig. 15), taken from G. T. Clark's " Mediæval Military Architecture in England," shows the original planning and disposition. Through the vestibule the hall was reached ; it was 47ft. long and 23ft. wide, and its floor had the central support of an arcading, which ran down the centre of the undercroft. It was lofty, so that its north side had a two-storeyed gallery contrived in the thickness of the wall. West of it were lesser rooms of office, one of them apparently serving as a kitchen ; and a set of garderobes, overhanging the recesses in the west wall, completed the arrangements at that end. On the south side a doorway led to another large room, and east of that were the chapel and ante-chapel.

Thus the keep was not without fine rooms—as then understood—finely

approached. About it, perhaps in the time of the first Albini earl, and certainly after the male line of Albini was extinct, other accommodation of ampler and more comfortable kind must have been grouped, for the castle had its period of importance as a residence. The grandson of William and Adeliza was a man of influence when John was king. He was generally on the side of that unpopular king, and at the close of his reign was justiciar. Soon after, he went on crusade, and died in 1221 on his way home. He had two sons, who succeeded each other, but neither had issue, so that on the death of Hugh in 1243 the great inheritance was divided among his sisters. To Isabel and her Fitzalan son came the honour of Arundel and its earldom, which were ultimately transmitted by descent to the Howards. Castle Rising was the portion of Cicely, the wife of Roger, who took name "from a little hill in Flintshire then called Montalt, but of late times (vulgarly) Moulde," as Dugdale tells us. There were four de Montalt owners of Castle Rising, of which the third was called to the House of Lords by writ in 1295. After his son Robert succeeded him, four years later, we hear something of the relations between the baron's castle and the neighbouring town of Lynn. They became strained, and Montalt's men were attacked and roughly handled when in the town. The lord claimed and obtained judgment for money compensation, and Lynn still preserves his receipts for payment "given at our Castle of Rising." Robert was childless, and when he grew in years he granted a reversion of all his estates after his own and his wife's demise to Queen Isabella. That was in 1327, when the Queen had effected the deposition and murder of her husband, and, keeping her son in tutelage, ruled England for her own and her paramour Mortimer's benefit. Daughter of Philip the Fair of France, she had been married to Edward II and crowned at Westminster in 1308. The King not only at once neglected her for his favourite Gaveston, but gave the latter the presents she had brought over from her father. There were quarrels and reconciliations, and two sons were born. The breach became final when, in 1324, Edward, now under the influence of the De Spencers, resumed the estates that had been assigned to her, gave her 20s. a day for her maintenance, and



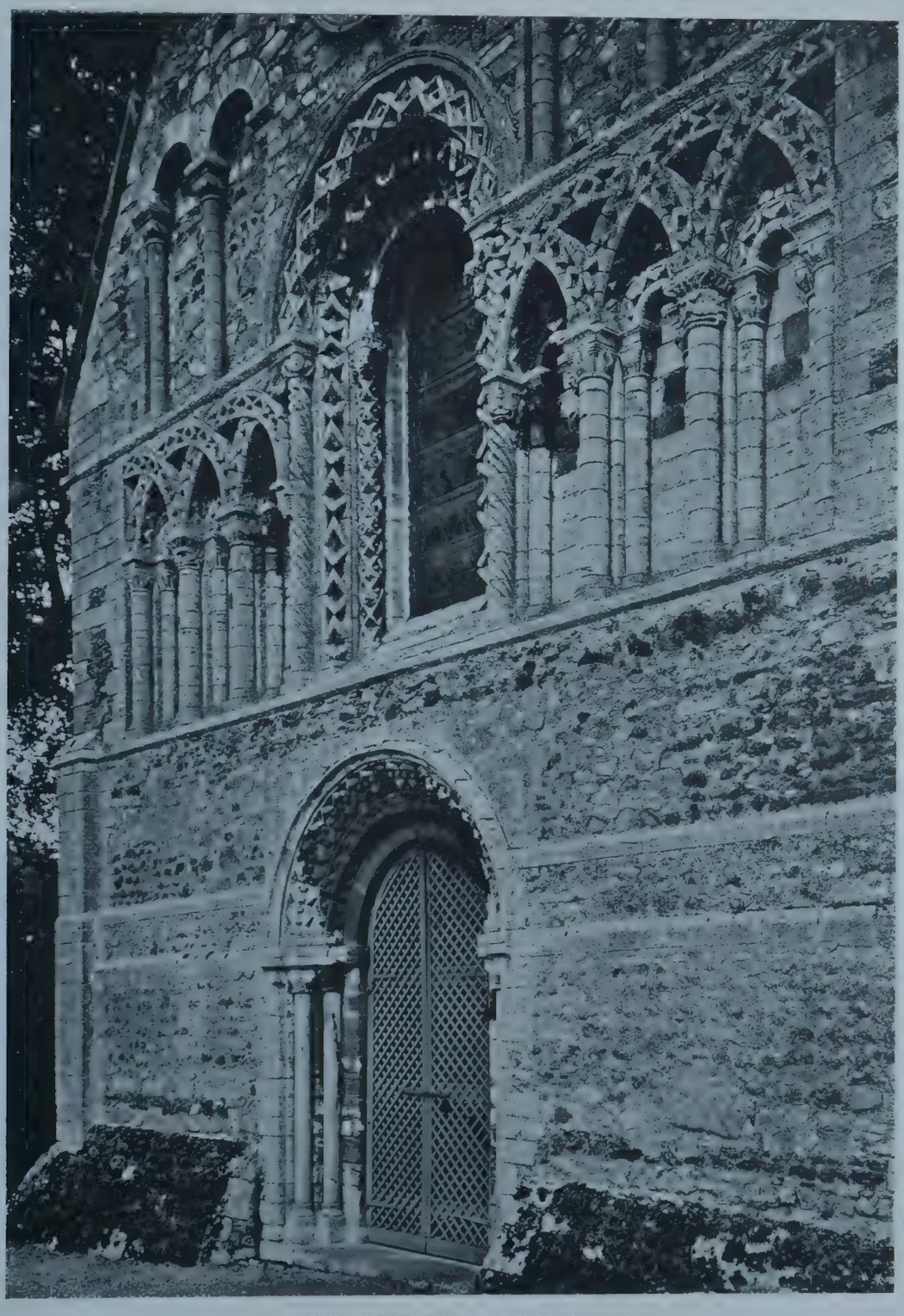
19.—THE FOREBUILDING.
It is set against the east side of the keep.

20.—THE KEEP FROM THE SOUTH-EAST.

21.—THE KEEP FROM THE NORTH-WEST.

The British earthworks and the remains of the Norman gate-house and curtain wall are seen on the left.

appointed the wife of the younger De Spencer to attend her. After this semi-captivity had continued for six months she obtained leave to go to France. There she watched and fostered the growing discontent of the English baronage, and in 1326 landed at Harwich. Thence she went to Bury St. Edmunds, "as if on pilgrimage," and seized a sum of the King's money deposited there. The capture, detention and murder of her husband soon followed, and Isabella and Mortimer ruled the land and feathered their nests. Their gains were largely invested in realty, the purchase of the reversion of the Montalt estates being merely one of such transactions. Robert de Montalt died soon after, and in 1330 Isabella obtained immediate possession from the widow, who took an annuity. But the year of Isabella's occupation of



22.—THE WEST END OF THE CHURCH.

Castle Rising was also the year of her fall. The hatred aroused by her husband's government through favourites, from which she had profited in 1327, was now turned against her, and when she and Mortimer summoned a Parliament at Nottingham young Edward had no difficulty in dominating the situation. " Sweet son have pity on the gentle Mortimer " was a cry that went unheeded, and Mortimer was executed. The Queen's wealth was taken from her, but £3,000 a year was assigned for her maintenance, and Castle Rising named as her place of abode. Having no party in the country, and thus being incapable of mischief, she was allowed honourable treatment and some liberty. Her son, Edward III, always addressed her fondly as *carissima mater*, and certainly on seven occasions visited her at Castle Rising, which remained her habitual residence. Here, as the Dictionary of National Biography tells us,

> She lived a comfortable and somewhat luxurious life, as the presents of meat, wax, wine, swans, turbot, lamprey and other delicacies from the neighbouring corporation of Lynn clearly show. She amused herself with hawking and collecting relics, and went on pilgrimage to our Lady of Walsingham.

Finally, taking to pious work, she assumed the habit of the Sisters of Santa Clara and died in 1358. This must, therefore, have been the time of the castle's greatest extent and most sumptuous equipment. The Edwardian buildings and decorations, however, have all disappeared. The shell of the keep, reduced, with few exceptions, to its original massive masonry, reminds us of William de Albini rather than of Isabella the Fair. In her time a considerable community was settled north of the castle and around the church. Rising had become a borough owing fealty to the lord of the castle at whose Court the mayor had to take oath to fulfil his duties, such as the following :

> Ye shall set the price of Beare and ale in your Borough according to the Statute and adjudge bodily penance to them that keep not the assize.

This " bodily penance " rather than incarceration took a curious form and long continued, so that on Bowen's map of Norfolk, illustrated with historical extracts, we find this note :

> They have two logges of wood at Castle Rising, instead of a prison which the prisoners are forced to drag after them, the one called Roaring Meg, the other Pretty Betty.

The mayor was elected by the twenty-five burgagers—the owners of the tenements that carried votes, for Castle Rising returned two members to Parliament until the Reform Act of 1832. In the eighteenth century these vote-bearing tenements had mostly been acquired by the Howard lord of the manor, or the Walpoles of neighbouring Houghton, and each family agreed to return one member. The election took place in the church, the mayor being the returning officer and the Howard and Walpole agents being in attendance.

The Howard ownership began under Henry VIII when the Crown, which had held Castle Rising since the days of Isabella, passed it, by exchange, to the Duke of Norfolk, uncle to Queen Katherine Howard. His grandson, Duke Thomas, was executed in 1572 for complicity in the Mary Queen of Scots plots, and his attainder brought the dukedom to an end. But he had married the heiress of the Fitzalans whom we have seen inheriting Arundel on the death of the last male Albini. Thus the son of Duke Thomas became Earl of Arundel, but, if he was the owner of Castle Rising, the lead there was taken by his uncle Henry Howard whom James I created Earl of Northampton, and appointed Lord Privy Seal and Lord-Lieutenant of Norfolk. The beheading of both his father and elder brother produced in him a great capacity for opportunism. He was determined to remain floating, whatever the means necessary, and so it has been said of him that he " exhibited in all his actions a stupendous want of principle." But his cleverness and attainments no man doubted. He loved architecture, astrology, philosophy and civil law ; he was reputed the most learned nobleman of his time. Deeds of charity also came within his scope, and thus, as one of three such foundations, arose " The Hospital of the Holy and undivided Trinity of Castle Rising," which he had founded and was busy erecting when he died a bachelor in 1614. The Earls of Arundel were re-created Dukes of Norfolk in Charles II's time, but Castle Rising was not retained by them. It remained, however, in the Howard family, who have taken pains to maintain, without much further decay, the remnants of the castle which are so valuable an element in the history of the domestic phase of our Norman architecture.

ARUNDEL CASTLE, SUSSEX

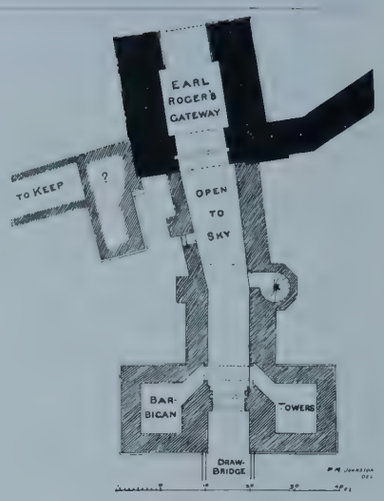
WE have just seen (page 14) how William de Albini, owner and rebuilder of Castle Rising, became lord of the castle and honour of Arundel in right of his wife Adeliza, widow of Henry I. The castle, which lies in the western division of Sussex, is not only a magnificent example of a mediæval fortress and dwelling house, still inhabited, but it derives a great additional interest from the long succession of builders and owners who have made it their home in practical continuity from Earl Roger de Montgomery, soon after the Norman Conquest of 1066, down to the present owner, the Duke of Norfolk. Earl Roger de Montgomery, a commander of the central wing of the Conqueror's army at the Battle of Hastings, received Arundel, together with Chichester and large tracts of the circumjacent lands, as part of his share of the spoils. The lands bestowed with these important towns comprised three lordships, ten hundreds with their courts and suits of service, eighteen parks and seventy-seven manors. His position and estates in Shropshire and Montgomeryshire were equally great.

Earl Roger's two sons, Hugh de Belesme and Robert—two of the wickedest ruffians in that lawless age—successively held Arundel till 1102, when it was forfeited to the Crown on account of Robert's treasonable conspiracy. William Rufus himself had taken possession of the castle in 1097 and spent Easter there. Henry I took it in 1102, and granted it as a dower to Adeliza of Louvain, his second wife, whom he married in 1121, and here she resided after

23.—SOUTH-EAST VIEW OF THE CASTLE.

his death in 1135. The great circular keep will hardly date before her period of occupancy and may well be the work of her Albini husband, on whom the earldom of the county was conferred, the titles of Sussex, Chichester or Arundel being used by turns.

The keep may just have been completed when King Stephen laid siege to the castle in 1139. William de Albini had agreed to the landing of the Empress Matilda to claim the English crown, had received her at her landing at Littlehampton and brought her to her stepmother's castle of Arundel, which he prepared for the siege. But an arrangement was come to with Stephen, whereby Matilda was given facilities to go to Bristol, and de Albini, becoming reconciled to Stephen, was made an earl and converted into a supporter of that king. In 1153 he took the lead in the arrangement which left the kingship to Stephen for life, but made Henry II his successor, and Henry, duly succeeding the following year, confirmed Albini in his earldom. His work at Arundel may include the keep, and most certainly a part of the south-east front, including a very perfect two-light window which may have lighted the original chapel, and a piece of wall opposite to it, now internal, in which are preserved some very perfect pilaster buttresses, a plain, round-arched doorway of two orders, and some round-headed windows. William, the fourth earl, probably built the Great Hall on the west flank, the site of which is occupied by the modern Barons' Hall; and a porch of this hall, with a fine recessed Early English doorway, having survived the destruction of the hall itself in the siege of 1643–44, was, unhappily, demolished in 1806. An engraving of it, preserved in Tierney's *History of*



24.—PLAN OF THE BARBICAN.

25.—EARL ROGER'S GATEWAY, FROM WITHIN.

26.—BARBICAN AND EARL ROGER'S TOWER, WITH THE GREAT BUTTRESS.

Arundel, makes one all the more lament its destruction in a tasteless age. Probably in a great building period like the thirteenth century the walls of enceinte and towers were built, or rebuilt, heightened and strengthened, replacing outer defences of simpler and less imposing construction. Much of the heavy foundation walling of these outworks to the east, south and west is evidently of the thirteenth century, superimposed on still older work of Earl Roger and his successors.

When Hugh, fifth and last of the Albini earls, died in 1343 Arundel went to the son of his sister Adeliza, who had married John Fitzalan, Lord of Clun. The son, another John, succeeded his father in 1240 and his uncle three years later. In his time he was never known as Earl,

27.—THE BARBICAN TOWERS AND DRAWBRIDGE.

28.—INNER FACE OF BARBICAN LOOKING THROUGH EARL ROGER'S (OR THE CLOCK) TOWER.
The ground, before it was lowered, was level with bottom of gates.

but only Lord of Arundel, for it was not until 1435 that the claim of ownership of the Castle carrying with it the earldom was admitted. But his grandson, who had succeeded in 1272 at the age of five, was given the sword of the county by Edward I in 1289, and thus recognised, if not created, Earl of Arundel. He was a polished courtier and brave knight, prominent in the Court of Edward I, and fought for him in France, Wales and Scotland. The castle and estates seem to have fallen into great dilapidation during his long minority, and in 1285 he received a grant of a fair in Arundel to help in their repair. Great as were his Sussex domains

the chase was apt to carry him beyond his own bounds and into the Chichester bishop's forest of Houghton. The prelate made use of his spiritual power to prevent such trespass, for when a deputation of clerks failed to get redress, excommunication and finally interdict were brought into play. The earl was forced to submission and discipline—such as a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Richard at Chichester and a three days' fast—for only on such terms did the bishop consent

29.—EARL ROGER'S TOWER AND KEEP.

to pronounce sentence of absolution in the year 1292. Eight years later we get a braver picture of the young earl—he was even then only three and thirty—for Water, the Monk, describes him at the siege of Carlaverock as :

> Richard, the Earl of Arundel,
> A well beloved and handsome knight,
> In crimson surcoat, marked I well,
> With gold of rampant lion dight.

The career of Edmund Fitzalan, his son and successor, partook of the chequered fortunes of his Sovereigns. In high favour with Edward I, who knighted him and others of the youthful nobility in Westminster Abbey, he shared in the triumphs of the "Malleus Scotorum." But when the weak and pleasure-loving Edward II came to the throne Arundel soon found himself ranged among the barons who demanded the banishment of his corrupt favourites. On February 28th, 1308, he, with the Earls of Pembroke, Gloucester, Warwick and others assembled in the refectory of Westminster Abbey, drew up the memorial which eventually compelled Edward to banish Piers Gaveston. But in 1321 he married his daughter, aged 8, to Hugh le Despencer's son, aged 7, and supported Edward and his later favourite until, captured in Shropshire by the Queen's party in 1326, he was beheaded without trial.

His son Richard, restored five years later by Edward III, proved one of that monarch's most distinguished subjects and commanded the second division at the battle of Crécy. Canon Tierney says of him : "In the council and the field, on the deck of his warship, and the plain of Crécy, his talents and his prowess were alike displayed ; and during the lengthened space of

nearly forty years scarce an event of importance seems to have occurred in which the interests of the country were not indebted to his zeal." He followed Edward III in the great wars in Scotland and France and directed the energies of England's growing navy against the French with consummate skill. Unhappily his honourable career is stained by an adulterous connection with Eleanor Beaumont, widow of John Beaumont, and daughter of Henry, Earl of Lancaster, for whose charm he neglected Isabel Despencer on the plea that the child marriage had been forced upon him and that force alone had caused their cohabitation. By very disingenuous evidence he obtained from the Pope the dissolution of his marriage, wedded the designing widow, and his son by her, displacing his elder half-brother, who was declared illegitimate, succeeded in 1376.

30.—SOUTH VIEW OF THE KEEP, DRAWBRIDGE AND BARBICAN.

It was this third Richard Fitzalan who did so much work at the castle, also re-edifying in 1380 the Church of St. Nicholas, and founding a college of secular canons to serve it. He built the eastern arm of the church as the Collegiate Chapel, to be the burial place of his family. He is said to have been a man of many talents and good administrative abilities. He had supreme command of the navy against the French in 1386, and in the following year captured a large convoy of nearly 100 merchantmen, laden with 19,000 tuns of wine. The chronicler Froissart records that in consequence the best wine was for several months sold in London at fourpence the gallon. Joining with Duke Thomas of Gloucester against Richard II, he was beheaded in 1397; but after his execution he was canonised by the citizens of London, who had witnessed his constancy and cheerfulness on the scaffold; miracles were stated to have been wrought through his intercession, and constant pilgrimages were made to his tomb in the Church of the Augustine Friars, in Bread Street, Cheapside. The report spread that his head had been miraculously reunited to his body, and this obtained such credence that the King sent a party of his friends to the church to open the grave and examine the corpse, which was found to present no extraordinary characteristic. His will, which is a lengthy and most interesting document, leaves explicit directions as to the maintenance of the College of Arundel, which he had founded. He probably added largely to the eastern wing of the castle and rebuilt the Great Hall.

31.—THE KEEP WITH ITS ANCIENT STAIRWAY.

By one of those dramatic turns in the wheel of fortune, which characterise especially the Middle Ages, the custody of the captive King Richard II was committed to his son Thomas Fitzalan, and the youth—he was not yet sixteen—was hardly likely to forget his father's wrongs and the rigorous imprisonment he had himself suffered in Reigate Castle. With his uncle, the exiled Archbishop of Canterbury, he had accompanied Henry Duke of Lancaster to England in July, 1399, and in less than a month the deposed king was in their hands. Lancaster, the claimant to the throne, committed Richard to the charge of Fitzalan and the young Duke of Gloucester, with the significant reminder, "Here, he was the murderer of your fathers: I expect you to be answerable for his safety." At the coronation feast of Henry IV Fitzalan officiated in his hereditary post of Chief Butler.

Et si estoit grant bouteillier
Un, qui fu Conte darondel,
Qui est assez jeune et ynsel,

as the contemporary poet quaintly puts it. In his twenty-second year he married Beatrix, elder but illegitimate daughter of John I, King of Portugal, and their tomb still graces the Collegiate Church (Fig. 45). Their union was fruitless, and consequently the honour and lordship of Arundel passed, at his death in 1415, to his cousin, John Fitzalan, Baron Maltravers, whose son, succeeding in 1421, was active in the French wars, being Captain of Rouen in 1431. Four years

later he was wounded and taken prisoner at the siege of Gerberoz and died soon after at Beauvais. Polydore says of him that he " was a man of singular virtue, constancy, and gravity, whose death, at such a disastrous moment, was a severe affliction to his countrymen." He long continued to be remembered in France as " the English Achilles." His beautiful cenotaph stands between the choir and the Lady Chapel of the Collegiate Church, where also his son William is splendidly entombed. He was married to Joan, sister of Richard Nevill, Earl of Warwick, " The King-maker," and was a great friend of literature and art, whose patronage is acknowledged by Caxton in the preface of the original edition of " The Golden Legend." He died in 1488. His son Thomas shone as a courtier, and changed over from the side of Richard III to that of Henry VII, but seems to have suffered sad disillusionment as he discovered the treacherous and avaricious character of the Tudor monarch. He died at Downley Park, an estate in the parish of Singleton, West Sussex (where are tombs of others of his family), and was buried, by his own direction, near the body of his wife, on the north side of the choir of the Collegiate Chapel at Arundel (Fig. 44). William Fitzalan, his son, who succeeded in 1524, was too much the courtier-politician to be a good man. He followed Henry VIII in the breach with Rome consequent on the royal divorce, and shared with the arch-robber in the spoils of monastic houses. He seems to have used some of the materials of the destroyed churches in a no longer existing wing on the east side of the castle. At his death in 1544 he was succeeded by his son Henry, twenty-first Earl of Arundel and fourteenth of his family, whose portrait by Sir Antonio More hangs in the breakfast-room, and another, by Holbein, in the small drawing-room. Henry VIII was his godfather, gave him his name, and in 1527 attached him to his person. He displayed great valour at the siege of Boulogne in 1544, and was rewarded on his return with the office of Lord Chamberlain, wherein he was continued by Edward VI. But he fell out with Northumberland, for whose ill-treatment of him he took full revenge. He abetted his proclamation of Jane as Queen in order to desert him at once for Mary and effect his arrest at Cambridge. Thus he was favoured by Queen Mary and her successor, Elizabeth, to whose hand he aspired, meeting first with encouragement

32.—THE TILT-YARD AND KEEP.

33.—THE KEEP FROM THE WEST.

and then rejection from the fickle virgin. This was in 1564, and his life—he had long been a widower—was sad in its latter end. His only daughter surviving, the Lady Lumley, " his nursse and dearly loved childe," assiduously tended his declining years. He died in 1580, the last of his line—his only son, Henry, having died in 1556—and was buried in the Collegiate Church where a wall tablet commemorates him. He seems to have been a typical John Bull in his dislike of " new-fangled and curious tearmes " and his aversion from the use of foreign languages. Of his two daughters, the younger, Mary, married Thomas Howard Duke of Norfolk, and is said to have been of " so sweet and amiable disposition, so prudent, pious, vertuous, and religious, that all who knew her could not but esteem her much." She was a learned scholar and skilled in Greek and Latin verse. The portraits of herself and her husband, ascribed to Sir A. More, hang at Arundel, which has ever continued in the ownership of their descendants.

The Domesday Survey gives Arundel as " Castle Harundel "—showing that the vice of clapping on an aspirate is sufficiently ancient, and also that the Castle was then, as now, the dominant feature. It is, indeed, quite probable that Earl Roger de Montgomery had begun to build a stone castle by 1086, replacing the Saxon timber defences, although the great circular keep may only date from the time when William de Albini married Queen Adeliza. There are considerable differences in date between the surviving works of the Norman period ; the original barbican (Fig. 27), now called " the Norman gateway," with its plain tunnelled arch, chamfered abaci and coarse tooled, wide jointed sandstone, bearing the stamp of the earliest Norman, while the finer jointed and finely axed Caen stone of the keep can hardly be much earlier than *circa* 1135.

The situation of the Castle (Fig. 23) is intrinsically one of great strength, and every natural advantage has been fully made use of by successive generations of builders. The steep chalk promontory jutting out from the crest of the Sussex downs, at the point where the River Arun makes a sharp curve to go seawards, overlooking a wide expanse of water-meadows to the east,

south-east and south-west, with the densely wooded hill country and a deep fosse behind, must have placed the Castle in the front rank of military strongholds. Add to all these natural advantages the outworks, raised terraces and escarpments, inner and outer lines of defence, and, outside these again, to the south and west, the town walls and gates, and it will be seen that only a very long siege with a powerful besieging army could hope to subdue such a fortress. It was surrendered in 1102 to Henry I by Robert de Belesme ; and, whether King Stephen's withdrawal was due to chivalry towards his rival, the Empress Matilda, at Queen Adeliza's intercession, or to discretion on his part, the fact stands out that the Castle only really fell a prey to a besieging foe at a time when heavy artillery had rendered the mediæval castle obsolete. It was in December, 1643, that Sir William Waller, the Parliamentary general, brought his forces against this Royalist stronghold —it had first been seized by the King's party in the absence abroad of its owner—and, having established himself within the town, he used the tower of the Church of St. Nicholas to mount his ordnance upon and pound at the ancient walls. The range was uncomfortably good—the "saker drakes" that he used must have been excellent fieldpieces !—and the elevation of the tower, built, as the church is, on the same high crest of hill, was a factor in his favour. But it was hunger and sickness that compelled the surrender of the Royalist garrison on January 6th, 1644. Chillingworth, the Royalist divine, took part in the defence and helped by inventing engines of war, after the Roman manner—*testudines cum pluteis*—which seem to have been armoured carts, with a blind of bullet-proof planks and holes for four musketeers to shoot out of, placed upon the axle-tree, and carrying a bridge before it. We are told that this militant cleric had under his charge two small guns, called "murderers," and "some say that he was actively engaged during the siege in constructing machines after the Roman method, and that the vexation arising from

34.—LOOKING DOWN THE STAIR FROM THE KEEP.

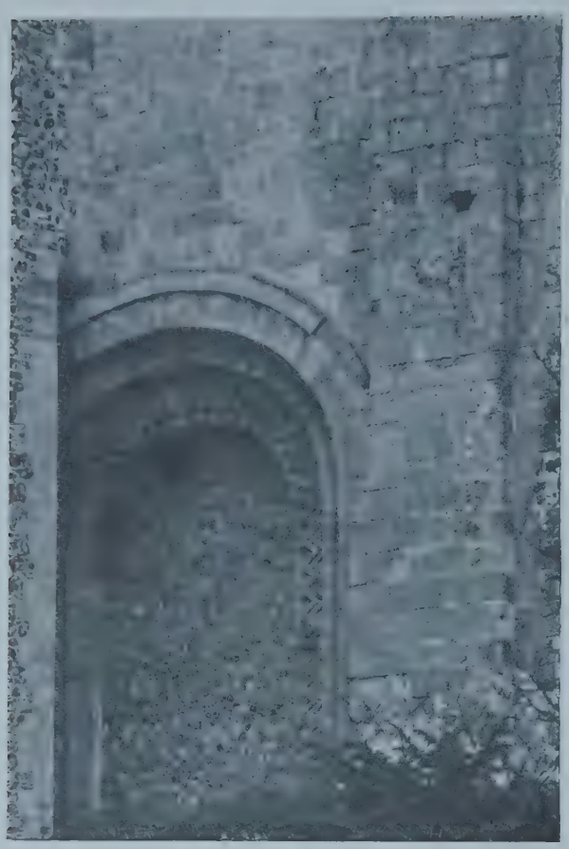
their failure greatly hastened his death." The scars caused by Waller's cannon on the rugged masonry of the barbican towers can be seen to this day. The battering it then received, with the attendant conflagration, reduced the greater part of the buildings within the area of the Castle to the condition of roofless ruins, and the still stately pile remained practically uninhabited well into the eighteenth century. The Great Hall, and most of the lesser apartments on the western and southern sides especially, were largely destroyed, but the barbican towers, with Earl Roger's original gateway tower in the rear (Fig. 26), owing to their extremely massive construction, remained practically intact, and, with the comparatively slight restorations carried out by the late Duke, are very much as they left the hands of their original builders. The same remark applies to the great circular Norman keep (Fig. 29), which, although a roofless shell, is otherwise complete and in a surprisingly good state of preservation. Many years ago its walls were festooned with ivy, which almost entirely obscured the interesting early masonry. Some extraordinarily sensible and modern remarks about this pestilent weed, made by the Rev. Edmund Cartwright, joint author of "A History of the Western Rapes of Sussex," more than a century ago, are worth quoting: "The keep, though built of solid masonry, and in perfect preservation, is only visible on the south-west side, where a part has yet escaped the growth of ivy. The rest of the building is nearly obscured by that weed. That a plant which acquires its full growth in forty or fifty years should be supposed to give an antique appearance to a building of the age of seven centuries is quite monstrous. Instead of being the most ancient (*sic*), the largest (*sic*), and the most perfect keep in England, it might be, when covered with ivy, a mere modern erection of brick or boards. The appearance of ivy, though perhaps sometimes picturesque in its mixture with masonry, is generally indicative of neglect and ruin, and quite destroys all architectural proportions." Well said, Mr. Cartwright! Happily, the late Duke was entirely of Mr. Cartwright's mind, for

35.—THE SUNK DRIVE AND BEVIS'S TOWER.

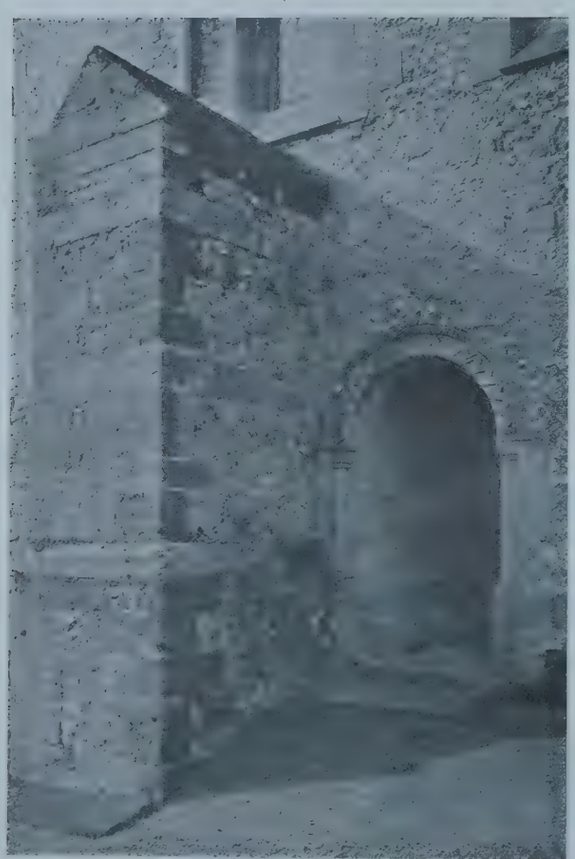
about thirty-nine years ago he removed the "weed" from the keep, and more recently from the walls of Amberley Castle hard by—not without the inevitable screech of the artistic fraternity. Antiquaries, however, will thank him not only for revealing the ancient masonry, long hidden, but also for removing a source of danger to the stability of the fabric. The damage done by the ivy trunks and branches at Amberley was incontestably proved on its removal.

The excellent state of the keep is due to happy accident and to the rigidly conservative nature of the late Duke's repairs. Externally it lacks nothing but its roof, and as this was probably flat, or nearly so—no roof appears above the battlements in Hollar's view drawn before the siege—its absence makes no difference to the completeness of the keep viewed from outside. As a mass of early mason work alone, it is a remarkable study. Standing on a circular artificial mound about 230ft. in diameter at the base and about 76ft. high up to the ground line of the wall (the sectional angle of the mound is about 45°), the keep itself is an irregular oval in plan, varying in diameter between 67ft. and 59ft., with a height above ground of from 27ft. to 30ft. Its circumference is divided by flat pilaster buttresses, 3ft. 11ins. wide, with a projection of 7ins. to 8 ins. dividing it into twelve bays, the space between the buttresses varying from 15ft. 4ins. to 15ft. 11ins. The walls are of unequal thickness (from 8ft. to 10ft., according to Canon Tierney) and are almost entirely faced externally with somewhat fine-jointed axe-tooled masonry, the stones used being Caen, Quarr Abbey and Binsted—the two latter from the Isle of Wight. These three are found together in nearly all the principal works of the twelfth century in West Sussex, and the two former were largely used before the Conquest, *teste* Sompting and Bosham Churches. Quarr Abbey stone, of which there were anciently corresponding beds on the West Sussex Coast, is an immensely hard freshwater limestone, full of minute *spiculæ* and shells, with a superficial likeness to a close-grained tufa. It

36.—THE COURTYARD FROM ST. MARTIN'S ORATORY.



37.—PORTAL OF THE KEEP.



38.—POSTERN GATE ON THE EAST FRONT.

was known and used by the Romans, whose preference for it may have originated in their native use of tufa. Modern repairs have been done in Doulting stone—easily distinguishable, yet harmonious. Just above the ground is a chamfered plinth-course on a base of flint, projecting about 1ft. from the wall face. This plinth receives three battering courses, corresponding to the projection of the pilaster buttresses—altogether a very pretty piece of early masonry. The buttresses slope off to nothing immediately below the battlements.

As another authentic early detail of military architecture the battlements themselves are very precious, and while large parts are original, the remainder have been renewed with scrupulous exactitude. Norman battlements are rare, and these must be among the very oldest remaining in England. Their chief characteristics are the long, steeply coped shield-pieces, pierced with arrow slits, contrasted with the narrow interspaces. Internally there is a broad shooting gallery all round, to which access is gained by a "vice," or stair, on the south-east. The battlement wall being comparatively thin, this walk represents, as usual in early castle building, the thickness of the main wall below, which, as viewed internally, is seen to be of flint construction—now denuded of its original plaster coating—probably with a "heart" of chalk rubble, all compacted with very hard mortar. Standing within the keep, one can plainly follow the original roofing line; but what is not so easy to determine is the question as to how the interior was subdivided. There are corbels marking the lines of floor beams about half way up the height, and the original first floor fireplaces, whose hearth level is now "in the air"; there are also two plain, round-arched doorways beneath this, one leading to the stairway from the courtyard, the other to the Well Tower. To the left is the great portal, its arch rising up into what would be the upper storey. There must have been a partition wall, perhaps only of timber, to shut this off from the chamber with the fireplace and from the space below in which are the two small doorways. But, even so, the mystery as to the lighting of these apartments remains, unless we imagine a central "well" or lighting area, as there are no traces whatever of window openings in the walls. Some writers, because of the absence of these, have assumed that the keep was not roofed and had no internal subdivisions, but was simply an open pit; such an absurd conclusion ignores the fireplaces on what would

be the first floor level. The great portal (Fig. 37), partially built up when the square fore-building and Well Tower were erected in the thirteenth century (their walls are not bonded into the keep wall), is a magnificent piece of early Norman work, the opening, 6ft. 6ins. wide in the clear, and about 10ft. high. Its jambs and circular head are of three continuous orders enriched by double chevron, roll, star and pellet mouldings, and crowned by a label of interlaced strapwork. Shadowed by the projection of the square foretower which still partially blocks it—and on that side of the keep which is least seen by the public—this remarkable feature is little known. It should be compared with those at Hedingham (Fig. 8), and the later one at Durham (Fig. 63). The stone is nearly all Caen and Quarr Abbey, and the great angle rolls of the jambs spring from splayed bases resting on a square sub-base and chamfered plinth. The outer opening is now blocked, but the splayed internal jambs and archway, finished with a continuous roll-moulding, are in perfect preservation. The southern chamber fireplace is comparatively small and has lost its arch or lintel and part of the hood, but the jambs and curved back, of herring-bone tiling, are quite perfect. It is permissible to wonder whether the shades of Queen Adeliza and her guest, the Empress Matilda, ever warm their ghostly hands at its long-cold hearth as they doubtless did in life. According to tradition, the Empress was lodged in the keep when she came here in 1139.

39.—NORMAN WINDOW, SOUTH FRONT.
From which it is said the Empress Matilda watched the approach of King Stephen.

In his "Mediæval Military Architecture," Mr. G. T. Clark shows us that the whole plan of Arundel Castle and the disposition of its parts (Fig. 41) strikingly resemble those of Windsor Castle, though, of course, on a smaller scale. There is the same circular Norman keep, the same upper and lower baileys; there is also the great stone stairway climbing up the mound to the keep—a feature found at Farnham (Fig. v) and likewise at Carisbrooke and Cardiff; the view at Arundel looking up the long flight of steps (Fig. 31), forty-four in number, which are enclosed within low battlemented walls, to the Well Tower jutting out from its taller companion, and, behind both, the swelling rounded mass of the keep, once seen is never forgotten. Both these towers are of flint, dressed with orange-brown Pulborough stone to the quoins and windows; but the Well Tower has no fewer than ten chamfered set-offs at its bases, formed of Caen stone, and suggesting that this base, or platform, is contemporary with the keep and that the well therein was in the first instance protected by a wooden enclosure, subsequently replaced by the flint and stone tower. In both the towers are windows of the "shouldered-arched" form, as used at Carnarvon (Fig. 96), marking the thirteenth century date. At the base of the larger tower is a low early buttress, and in the topmost stage a window of two nearly circular-headed lights, divided by a mullion. The south front of this tower is in two converging facets, with a central quoin, and there are numerous putlogs. The south-west angle, which had been injured in the siege, and finally taken down rather over a century ago to fill up the well—a purposeless piece of vandalism—has been carefully rebuilt, and the curtain wall, screening the entrance to the foretower, has also been restored in the recent works. The steep sides of the keep mound are clothed with sombre yews,

40.—HOLLAR'S ENGRAVING OF ARUNDEL IN 1644.

which contrast finely with the time-stained masonry which probably replaced a pre-Conquest wooden stockade.

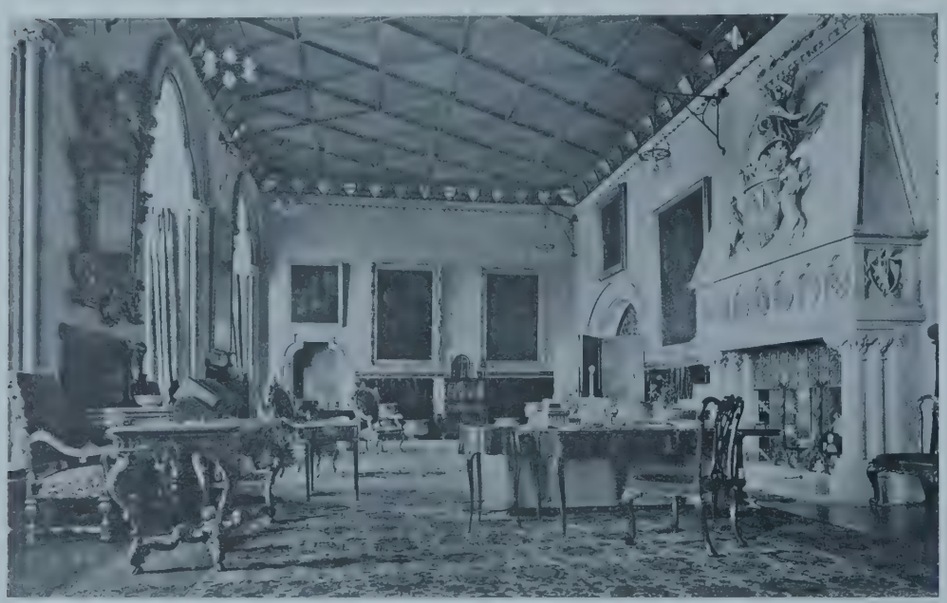
Bevis's Tower (Fig. 35) is supposed to have been so called after the fabled giant, Bevis of Southampton, who was able to wade across to the Isle of Wight. He had a horse called Hirondelle—"swallow"—(whence, of course, "Arundel"!), and a two-handled sword christened "Mongley" (still preserved in the Castle armoury). A large tumulus in the park is called his grave. When Bevis consented to serve as warder to the earls of Arundel, the legend tells that his weekly ration comprised an ox, two hogsheads of beer, with bread and mustard *ad libitum*! The early heralds evidently played on the legend when they gave to the town for arms a single swallow. Bevis's Tower is a much-restored thirteenth century work, built on the curtain to the north-west of the keep, and connected with it, like Earl Roger's tower, by a parapet walk across the mound. Its outlines and one or two features are authentic, including one of the three mediæval sally-ports. It looks down on to a beautiful pleasaunce known as "The Tilt Yard" (Fig. 32) encompassed by a curtain wall, much renewed, yet retaining many old features, including four more or less restored skeleton towers, or turrets. Near Bevis's Tower a stair and ascending path enable one to climb the steep escarpment from the water-meadows, and on gaining the level walk beneath the wall one finds a perfect thirteenth century postern—here a pointed-arched doorway, with a chamfered cill 2ft. 6ins. above the ground, approached by a wooden stairway. This doorway is enclosed within a square recess and gives upon the Castle gardens. In the walls above are stone water-spouts to convey the drainage from the parapet walk. The stonework of the doorway is richly tinted Pulborough, marking it as part of the extensive works of John Fitzalan in the second half of the thirteenth century; but mixed with the adjacent flint walling are many stones (Caen) bearing Norman

41.—PLAN OF ARUNDEL CASTLE, CHURCH, ETC.

axe-tooling, and others (Pulborough) pick-dressed, while some few, turned pink by the action of fire, show the claw-tooling of the early thirteenth century—all relics of earlier buildings. Most of the buttresses here, of varying sizes, are ancient. The base of the great tower that joins the curtain to the terraced eastern front of the Castle is of thirteenth century ashlar, the lower part battered out with a high plinth of flints and Caen stone. Beyond, going south, the

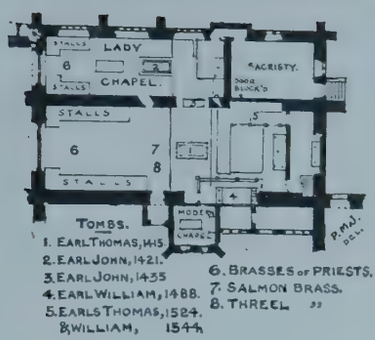
42.—THE GREAT HALL.

north-east front of the Castle retains its ancient buttresses and the quoining and loops of a square tower (? garderobe), but most of the wall face and all the windows and battlements are modern. It must be remembered that Duke Charles, in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, recast the whole of the domestic quarters of the Castle, which before that had been ruined by Waller's siege and patched up in 1720, when the Howards came again to live at Arundel. Happily, Duke Charles's alterations spared some very interesting twelfth century work in the south-east front—the remains of the original chapel of St. George, about 40ft. long, and of a vaulted undercroft that probably served as a prison. The Chapel of St. George was to have had a foundation for six priests, but the funds were, in 1380, appropriated to the college of the Holy Trinity. The angle of this south-east front is crowned by a tower, which has shared in all the three rebuildings, but the south wall to the westward retains three pilaster buttresses and two very fine two-light windows, one partially, the other wholly blocked up. The more perfect one has an enclosing circular arch and label, with circular sub-arches resting on twin and single shafts, having capitals of broad leaf form and moulded bases (Fig. 39). Tradition says it was from this window that the Empress Matilda watched for the approach of King Stephen. It is an unusually fine and well preserved example and compares with the best at Rochester, Hedingham and Castle Rising. In what is the opposite (internal) wall, a storey lower, are a plain Norman door of two rings, two round-headed windows and a pilaster buttress, all exhibiting axe-tooling and marks of fire. These are in the north wall of the undercroft; and, entering by a flight of steps from the modern corridor, we find a spacious chamber barrel-vaulted, in chalk, with chamfered stone ribs, which vaulting—or, at least, the massive ribbing—has all the appearance of a thirteenth or fourteenth century insertion. The lords of the Castle not only confined military prisoners, but ordinary delinquents; and one of the latter, a certain John Mot in 1404, imprisoned on a charge of robbery, succeeded in escaping, but, being hotly pursued by the constable and other inhabitants, he fled for sanctuary to the college, and, seizing the ring attached to the gate, would have taken shelter within; but the constable disputed his claim to sanctuary and conveyed him back to the Castle prison. A later prisoner has left the inscription: "I pray to God if hit him please delyvere us all out of distress," in a dungeon beneath the Barbican, where also the walls are scored with rude drawings.



43.—THE LARGE DRAWING-ROOM.

Beyond this ancient piece of the south-east front and the retaining walls at the foot of the scarp below there is nothing more of antiquity either in this front or on the western side of the great quadrangular enclosure (Fig. 36) till we come to the unspoilt mass of the barbican towers, with their recessed portcullised gateway, approached by a parapeted bridge (the lower part of which, with the buttresses, is ancient) and a restored wooden drawbridge (Fig. 27). The effect is heightened by the charming tints of the flint walling, the orange-coloured Pulborough sandstone dressings, and the numerous black squares of the putlogs. The twin towers are set back at each storey, and for windows have single openings with shouldered heads. Passing beneath the drop-arch of the gateway and a length of passage open to the sky, in which is some effective flint and stone



PLAN OF CHAPEL.

chequerwork, we reach the inner gateway of Earl Roger's tower (Fig. 25), with its noble circular arches, also defended by a portcullis, and retaining the massive mediæval oak gates (Fig. 28). The ground here appears to have been lowered about 2ft. On the plastered north wall is a rude drawing of a ship, and high up on the south wall is a fifteenth century niche for a lamp or image. It is thrilling to think that in 1097 William Rufus, in 1102 Henry I's soldiers, in 1139 King Stephen, and Edward I in 1302 passed through this gateway, with which Time and man have dealt so mercifully that its appearance is practically the same as eight hundred years ago. The perfect curve of the semicircular arch is something to let the eye rest on. For some way up on the courtyard side this delightful old tower is faced with small blocks of Pulborough stone, but the three low upper storeys are flint-faced, and look like later work. The lower windows are restored Norman, but the top storey has some ancient blocked loops with square heads. The late Duke wrote: "These rooms have been called 'Empress Maud's rooms' certainly longer than I can remember. Years ago the remains of an Elizabethan bedstead were kept in one, and said to be her bed." At the north-west angle is an enormous buttress, with many set-offs, obviously an

44.—TOMB OF WILLIAM FITZALAN, TWELFTH EARL, AND WILLIAM, THIRTEENTH EARL.

45.—TOMB OF THOMAS FITZALAN AND OF BEATRIX OF PORTUGAL.

addition, and something of an unsolved problem. Through this tower, by means of a modern staircase at its side, access is gained to the great open stairway to the keep. Beyond, going south, is the modern chapel, built by the late Duke on the site of a strange piece of "Batty Langley" Gothic —the chapel erected by Duke Charles. The hall or ante-chamber that gives access to it also leads to the modern Great Hall (Fig. 42), a revival of the Great Hall of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (shown in Hollar's view, Fig. 40), which has ousted the "Baron's Hall," built by Duke Charles. Its chief features are the lofty, open roof of English oak, the ashlar-faced walls, the tall windows filled with painted glass, and the great stone fireplaces. A minstrels' gallery at the southern end, above a dais, suggests stringed instruments and Yuletide festivities. Besides this hall, other reception rooms—such as the large drawing-room (Fig. 43)—and suites of apartments are elaborately carried out in clever, if not convincing, imitation of mid-thirteenth century style, the late Duke having made such "restoration" the hobby of a lifetime. If some may not agree with his methods, all must praise his large and worthy conception of repairing and maintaining the Castle as a splendid historical monument.

46.—ARUNDEL CASTLE AND TOWN.

As seen from an Aeroplane.

BAMBURGH CASTLE, NORTHUMBERLAND

AT Bamburgh there is the rare example of a Norman keep still used for habitation (Fig. 50). Yet—outstanding feature though it be—it forms only a fraction of the entire fabric and illustrates but a page in lengthy annals. To no spot on our shores does more history, legendary and real, cling than to the storm-beaten Whinstone rock of the Northumbrian coast that springs up from the mainland marsh and looks across the sea to its island brethren of Farne. For did not men of old say that Bamburgh and the Castle Joyous Gard are one and the same? It looms large, therefore, in the story of King Arthur and his knights, for we read in Sir Thomas Malory's pages that "Sir Launcelot brought Sir Tristram and La Beale Isoud unto Joyous Gard, that was his own castle that he had won with his own hands. . . . And wit ye well that Castle was garnished and furnished for a king and a queen royal there to have sojourned." For long it was the headquarters of this gallant knight and his fair queen companion, and hence he sallied forth to do the many deeds of valour that for a time overshadowed even Sir Lancelot's fame; but "ever, between, Sir Tristram resorted unto Joyous Gard whereat La Beale Isoud was, that loved him as her life." Here, too, it was, later on, that Sir Lancelot brought Queen Guinevere, saving her from King Arthur's wrath and death by fire; and hither the King pursued them and besieged them, and many a knight lost his life ere the Pope intervened and bade Arthur take back his Queen. Dolorous Gard it then became to Lancelot, who sailed away to foreign lands. But when the final tragedy occurred, when the dead Queen had been laid by the side of the dead King, and Sir Lancelot

47.—THE SOUTH CURTAIN WALL AND ITS FLANKING TOWERS.

48.—BAMBURGH FROM THE LAND SIDE.

would live no longer, it was to Joyous Gard they brought him. "And there they laid his corpse in the body of the quire, and sang and read many psalters and prayers over him and about him."

When from romance we pass to reality we find that in the realm of fact the rock holds equally high place. Bamburgh gives way to no castle in the land in the matter of enduring occupation. From its long, narrow plateau, with pointed ends and precipitous sides falling into sea or marshland, King Ida ruled the first Anglian kingdom of Northern Britain in the sixth century. The twentieth century still finds it the home of man, much recent building, of a more or less restorative character, having fitted it for modern inhabitance. A period of nigh one thousand three hundred and eighty known years has seen it entirely deserted for only a comparatively short time, and its rugged walls have often witnessed stirring events. They have held at bay many an enemy and have seldom given way to straightforward assault and battery. The first historic leaguer of the rock of Bamburgh took place a hundred years after Ida had made it his capital and when his Christian successor, Oswald, had been slain in battle by the heathen Penda, King of the Mercians. Oswald had called the holy Aidan from Iona to aid him in the conversion of Northumbria, and the bishop, in his retreat on the Farne islet, was sore troubled at the King's death and at the destruction of their joint missionary work. The victorious Penda swept the land and advanced to the impregnable capital. He tore down and carried hither the rough wooden habitations of the countryside and set the inflammable material against the stockaded bulwarks. When the wind favoured, he set it alight, and the flames flew athwart the buildings of the doomed fortress. Aidan looked across the strip of sea and felt his last hope vanishing. "See, Lord, what great evil Penda doeth," cried he, raising his hands to heaven. Forthwith the wind veered; the flames leapt back to attack their kindlers and Bamburgh was saved. Though the Danes in the tenth century made a successful onslaught, its reputation for strength is noted by early chroniclers. "Bebba is a most strongly fortified city, not very large, being of the size of two or three fields, having one entrance hollowed out of

49.—SEEN FROM THE BARBICAN.

the rock and raised in steps after a marvellous fashion." When the Conqueror harried the North in 1070 Bamburgh remained unscathed, though this "corner of Northumberland, defended on all sides by the sea or marshes," was a camp of refuge for his enemies. Nor was his son Rufus successful in open attack. Robert of Mowbray, Northumberland's Norman earl, had declared against him and held the fortress. The King found that hunger alone could reduce it, and he set up over against it his wooden castle of Malvoisin to lodge the besiegers and

prevent the relief of the besieged. Robert, after many a month of enforced inaction, slipped out, hoping that Newcastle would declare in his favour. It failed him, however, and he was captured. Rufus had him led up to the castle walls, and threatened there and then to have his eyes gouged out failing immediate surrender. The young Countess, who was in command within, gave way to this threat as she would never have done to open attack, and the King entered Bamburgh. After this the great feudal earls were seldom allowed possession of the castle, which was entrusted to the sheriff as a more dependent and trustworthy royal official. Stone, no doubt, was now beginning to replace earthworks and wooden buildings. Alteration and rebuilding have not destroyed the original character of the keep, which, in its main lines, must have resembled that of Rochester (Fig. i). Its doorway is still a good example of Norman work, and of Norman work of the early type that shows no signs of the richness and elaboration of the later phase of the style as used by Albini at Castle Rising (page 17) and Pudsey at Durham (page 61) in the latter half of the twelfth century. It is not, however, until this period is reached that we first get items in the

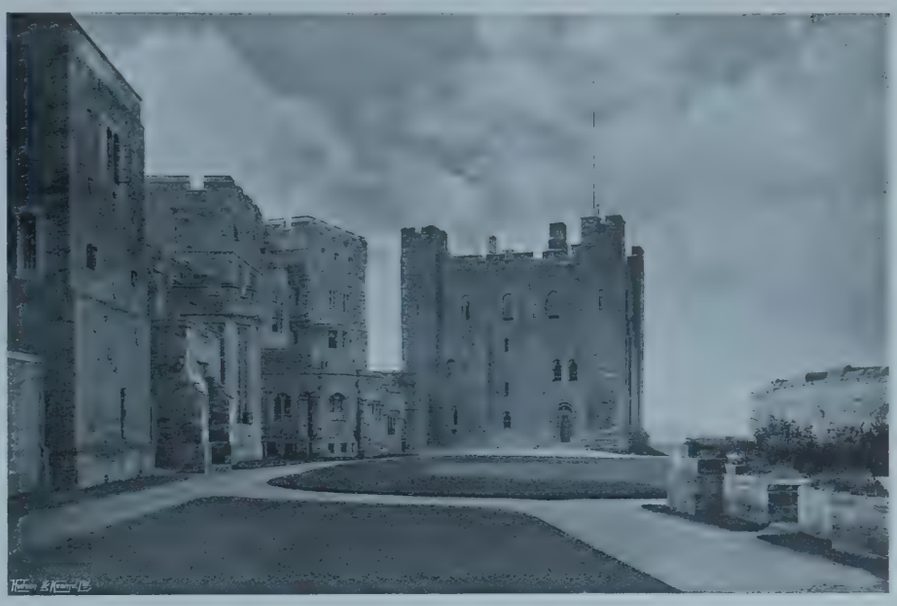
50.—THE KEEP FROM NORTHERN BATTLEMENTS.

sheriff's accounts relating to the keep of Bamburgh. In 1164 there is an item of four pounds for "the erection of the tower or keep." A cheap bit of building indeed, which makes the thirty pounds spent four years later "on the works of the Castle" seem an extravagance. But as the Crown tenants would furnish most of the labour and materials, the money payments are no criterion of the amount of work done. Moreover, Bamburgh, eclipsed by Newcastle, was a rather out-of-the-way and unimportant place, and the style of building adopted there would be simple and old-fashioned. It is, therefore, probable that such Norman features of the keep as eighteenth and nineteenth century transformations have left are not earlier than Henry II's reign. The disturbed times of John and Henry III brought back Bamburgh into some prominence. John was a most restless monarch, and seldom slept many nights in the same place. So Bamburgh more than once proved a momentary harbourage while he harried his Northumbrian enemies' lands. Considerable extensions and repairs, therefore, were done in his reign; and during the minority of Henry III Hubert de Burgh, the great justiciar, comes here and puts the place into a posture

51.—THE WATCH TOWER AND THE KEEP.

of defence. This implies not merely a strengthening of the fortifications, but the arming and provisioning of the castle. Balistæ—the most deadly weapons of the age, whether they were hand crossbows or elaborate fixed engines—are provided, and men skilled in their use are paid wage. A grange one hundred and fifty feet long is built, and two hundred salted pigs are in store. Efficiency, however, is not the characteristic of Bamburgh during the mediæval period. There is a constant cry from each succeeding sheriff that the work of his predecessor has been scamped or has decayed, but that he is prepared to make a really good job if only enough money is given to him for the purpose. Thus Hugh de Bolebec writes to Henry III in 1236: "Thou, Sire, badest me have the buildings and turrets of your Castle of Bamburgh repaired, the wall of the Castle raised in one place, a new turret built, another that had been half finished, completed, and your great grange in the castle repaired lest it should fall. All this stands in great need of being attended to, on account of the violent gales that have been again prevalent in these parts. If the work is carried out in a proper manner it is estimated that it will cost two hundred pounds, or more." We do not know whether he got his two hundred pounds, or whether he used them honestly if he did get them. Destruction and peculation were the characteristics of the time during which de Montfort and the barons on the one side, and Henry and his son Edward on the other, alternately won and lost the upper hand in the government of the State. So, when Edward came to the throne in 1272 he caused an enquiry to be made into past abuses. It was found that William Heron, being Constable of the Castle, had charged nine pounds for a new granary, which ought only to have cost four pounds. His successor, Robert de Nevill, had a larger financial manner. He was accused of obtaining an order on the Exchequer for one thousand two hundred marks to pay for work which could well have been done for two hundred.

All this proves that Bamburgh was not among the greater and more sumptuously wrought royal castles. It was merely a very strong position which had to be kept in tolerable defensive condition. For long the keep and the gate-houses had been the main portions of the castle; but in 1256 mention is made of the King's Hall. This may still have referred merely to the principal room in the keep, whose old interior disposition is no longer ascertainable. But, no doubt, here, as elsewhere, under Henry III, and, still more, under his son, a great strengthening of the fortified area made it safe to erect in the main bailey or ward buildings with ampler and freer residential accommodation than the stern four-square Norman keep afforded. As usual, these edifices were not connected with the keep, which stood isolated and alone, but were a separate set of buildings set against the southern curtain wall of the inner ward and its flanking towers. Until a few years ago the portion that had contained the King's Hall and the other important mediæval lodgings was not merely ruinous, but almost entirely wanting, nothing much more than vaults and foundations remaining. This was no recent demolition, but dated back some three centuries. During the civil feuds of the fifteenth century Bamburgh went through more than one siege, it being in the hands now of the partisans of the White and now of the Red Rose. In 1463, when Edward IV held all England besides, Henry and Margaret ruled Northumberland for some months from the rock-set capital of Ida. It was a convenient retreat for falling potentates, for there was a back door escape for those who held the sea, and when the defence threatened collapse French ships could take them off to safety. All this was a time of destruction rather than of reparation; and when the Tudors were firmly established on the throne it became a question whether so strong a sea-coast castle should not be again put into a posture of defence. Richard Bellasis was sent down in 1538 to report, and he drew up a long and careful "View of the castell of bawmborgh wich is of three grett wardes and in grett reuyne & decay." The casual mention of some "olde walles callyde the Kynges hall" shows that that great apartment was even then a matter of past history. But there is "a gret chambere within the inner warde" that can be turned into a makeshift hall if it is new roofed, doored and windowed. Like treatment will make other old rooms about it fit for "Kychynge and layrdere" at the one end, and for "fayre Chambers" at the other end. This report was adopted and the work carried out. A little hall some thirty-three feet by twenty-one feet was contrived and enough of the ruined castle was made habitable to provide a complete and satisfactory captain's lodging. Here Protector Somerset, on his way to win the battle of Pinkie



52.—THE INNER WARD.

in 1547, was entertained at dinner by Sir John Horsley. It was Bamburgh's last important function. Thirty years later the repaired captain's lodging shared the ruin of the rest of the castle. The lead on its roof was partly removed, and the timbers were perishing. No other part showed even signs of any remaining roof, and all that could be said of the keep was that its walls were still "upright." In the interval Sir John Horsley, who had "kept his howse continually in the said Castell," had been followed in the captaincy by a man who lived elsewhere, and who merely used his command over such castles as Bamburgh, Alnwick and Warkworth to strip them of all material worth removal and to leave them hopeless wrecks.

The largest of the several townships in the wide-spreading parish of Bamburgh is Adderstone, and here, in Henry IV's time, Thomas Forster lived and died. He was followed by another Thomas Forster, who was father of nineteen sons. There was no lack of Forsters for long after this, and later owners of Adderstone are described as "chiefs of one of the most numerous of border clans." They also spread southward, and there was a Sir Thomas who

53.—ON THE SEA FRONT.

was a judge of the Common Pleas at the same time that a Sir John held the wardenship of the Middle Marches of Scotland. This appointment the latter received after his brains and bravery had contributed greatly to the success of the English arms against Scotland in 1557. He justified the appointment by the active and successful part he took in quelling the Northern rising of 1569 when Percys and Nevilles rose against Elizabeth and declared for the old faith. Many years before that John Forster had profited by the suppression of that religion. He had, in 1565, on payment of six hundred and sixty-four pounds, five shillings and tenpence, obtained a grant of the site and property belonging to the suppressed Cell of the Austin Canons in Bamburgh. He transformed the buildings into his house, and when, some years later, he followed Sir John Horsley in the captaincy of the castle he had no call to inhabit its captain's lodgings, but, as we have seen, completed the ruin of the whole place. The idea of repairing it was, however, mooted, and in 1584 Sir John was charged with having laid it waste. But he was left in peaceful possession of the desert he had created until his death in 1602, when he was succeeded by his illegitimate son, Nicholas Forster, who, as sheriff of the county, received James I on his entering England in the following year. Nicholas' son, Claudius, became a baronet, and in his time the very site and lordship of the castle ceased to be Crown property, for these were bestowed upon Sir Claudius in 1610. With him the fortunes of the Forsters of Bamburgh reached their highest point, but the turn in the tide soon set in. A century after he had obtained possession of the castle all the Bamburgh estates had to be sold to satisfy the claims of creditors.

Ferdinando Forster, last of the male descendants of Sir John, was murdered in 1701. He had had two sisters, of whom the one married the head of the family, Thomas Forster of Adderstone. Their eldest son became co-heir to Ferdinando, and tradition assigns the loss of his share of the estate to his attainder. He was member for Northumberland in 1715, but so ardent a Jacobite that the House of Commons consented to the order for his arrest when it was known that Scotland had risen. He tried to induce his county to do the same, and, failing in this, escaped over the Border and the Pretender appointed him general. When the King's forces faced him at Preston he surrendered at discretion, and was brought up to Newgate to await his trial. His escape thence is well known, and out of the whole episode Walter Besant wove a romance. As his father was still alive, Adderstone was saved to the family and was re-settled on the second son, while "General" Forster lived and died "in the parts beyond the sea." As for the Bamburgh property, it had ceased, some years before the 1715 rebellion, to belong to the Forsters. At the sale forced on by the creditors it had been bought by Nathaniel, Lord Crewe, Bishop of Durham (page 65). In James I's reign John Crewe, a Nantwich tanner, had two sons who distinguished themselves. Sir Ranulph, the elder, became Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and founded the senior, or Crewe Hall, branch. Sir Thomas, the younger, became Speaker of the House of Commons, and obtained Steane in Northamptonshire by marriage. His heir became Lord Crewe of Steane, and had five sons. But in 1697 the four elder of these were dead without male issue, and the title and estates went to the youngest. Nathaniel Crewe had taken orders in 1664, and preferment came rapidly: in 1669 he was a dean, and in 1671 a bishop. The bishopric of Oxford did not, however, satisfy his ambition, and three years later he succeeded, through the influence of the Duke of York, whose chaplain he was, in exchanging it for the episcopal palatinate of Durham, with its princely power and revenues. His patron the Duke, becoming King in 1685, the Anglican bishop so servilely abetted the Romanising policy of the Catholic sovereign that even his rapid and abject *volte face* did not prevent his exemption from the general pardon when William and Mary came to the throne, and he was only prevented by the entreaties of his servants from flying across the sea. Shorn of some of its privileges, the bishopric was restored to him by Archbishop Tillotson's intercession, and in 1691 he married his first wife. She, however, died before the close of the century, and the bishop, in 1700, wedded Dorothy Forster, who, in the following year, became co-heiress with her nephew to her brother Ferdinando's tangled estate. Negotiations with creditors and reference to the Court of Chancery dragged out their weary length; but, at last, in 1709, the estates of the Bamburgh Forsters passed into the possession of Lord Crewe on payment of twenty thousand, six hundred and seventy-nine pounds, of which

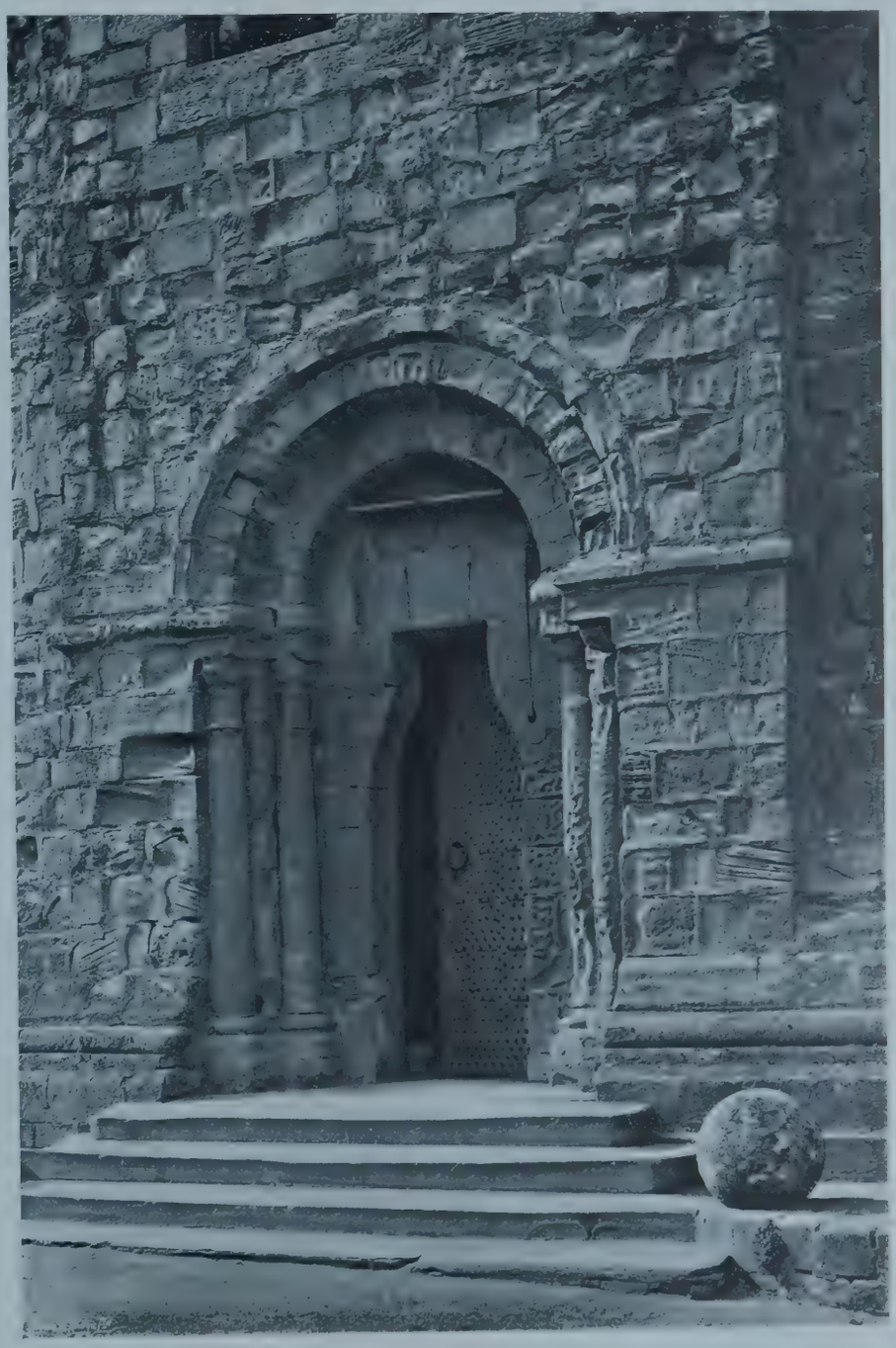
54.—THE SALLY-PORT FROM THE WEST WARD.

only about one thousand pounds remained to Lady Crewe and her nephew Thomas after all debts and charges were paid. This purchase was the preliminary to the last stage in the history of Bamburgh Castle prior to the late Lord Armstrong's acquisition and rebuilding. Lord Crewe had no children, and he left these estates to trustees for charitable purposes. Aged eighty-eight and having held the Durham bishopric for forty-seven years, Nathaniel, last Baron Crewe of Steane, passed away in 1721, and the trustees came into possession. Of them, only one is closely connected with the structure of the castle, and with him alone, therefore, are we at present concerned. John Sharp was a grandson of the archbishop of that name. His father had held a prebendal stall at Durham, together with much other preferment, and also a Crewe trusteeship. In the latter office his son John succeeded him in 1758. Until John took the matter up the trustees appear to have done nothing towards using the castle for the purposes

55.—HALL OF THE KEEP.

of the trust, and it remained, as it seems to have been throughout the Forster ownership, a derelict ruin. But John Sharp determined to make at least the keep habitable, and in 1766 we find him entertaining Bishop Trevor at dinner in one of the apartments he had arranged within it and which he called the court-room. Three years later Pennant was able to write: "Dr. Sharp has repaired and rendered habitable the great Norman square tower: the part reserved for himself and family is a large hall and a few small apartments; but the rest of the spacious edifice is allotted for purposes which make the heart to glow with joy when thought of." A year before John Sharp's trusteeship began even the walls of the keep threatened collapse, and his father had done some patching to preserve them, on the grounds that they had been "a sea mark for ages." From this beginning the son went on to render the whole keep habitable. But he was in no sense an archæological expert, and his work makes it very difficult to decide what may have been the original disposition of the keep. His contemporaries

considered that there were indications that the old roof had covered only two storeys, and that the massive walls, nine to eleven feet thick, with stairs and passages contrived in their width, were merely continued up for the sake of outlook and defence. This is exceedingly unlikely. There were probably always four floors, as John Sharp arranged it. Originally, there seem to have been mere slits for windows and a door high up reached not by a covered stone stairway as at Rochester but by one of wood as at Caldicot (page 73). All this, of course, had to disappear to give way to eighteenth century ideas of light and habitation. An east door (Fig. 56), giving, as it did, on to the inner ward, was of easier access and is the present entrance, opening into a vaulted and pillared hall fifty-one feet long, still retaining the old well. This room (Fig. 55) is, no doubt, much in its original condition, but the other interior (Fig. 57)—the so-called armoury—was, in all probability, made out of two rooms. The large room next to it—arranged by John Sharp for the holding of the Manor Courts—may also have been originally two, as there is a pillar in the hall beneath to sustain a cross wall. The keep, therefore, is a fine massive object, and its long story of ancient use, followed by desertion and then by renewed occupation, lends it much interest. But far less than the roofless examples we have been considering, it is a typical example of a Norman stronghold. As a philanthropist John Sharp was much better than as an architect, and the purposes to which he put the rebuilt portions of the castle were excellent. It was to be the centre of the trust, and a trustee was to be in residence administering the funds, acting as lord of the manor and supervising the charitable organisations. Schools, infirmary, granary, fog signals, accommodation for shipwrecked sailors were a portion only of the numerous institutions, all dictated by local requirements, which were started by John Sharp and fed by the Crewe revenues. More building was



56.—THE EAST OR PRESENT DOOR OF THE KEEP.

done as time went on. The main dwelling portion of the old castle was, as we have seen, set against the southern, or landward, curtain wall of the inner ward, and the eastward end was fitted for school and library purposes and as an agent's house. Thus the original kitchens and the foundations of part of the King's Hall were used ; but photographs of the castle taken over thirty years ago show a lengthy gap between the keep and the new eastern block, a gap once partly occupied by most of the King's Hall and also by the set of fine residential chambers arranged round its upper or dais end, which had been used for the captain's lodging under

57.—THE ARMOURY.

58.—THE MILL.

Henry VIII. Eventually it was found that the makeshift buildings, which were neither old nor new, were inconvenient and unhygienic. The keep was at one time let as a private residence; then the trustees decided that it would be well to part with the whole thing to a rich man, who might carry out an idea much desired and well expressed by Mr. Edward Bateson in the first volume of the "History of Northumberland," published in 1893. "The keep should be relieved of its modern fittings and be preserved, like that of Newcastle, as a historical monument. The great hall and the buildings connected with it require on the other hand to be plainly restored." It was believed to have been with this object in view that Bamburgh was allowed to pass into the possession of the late Lord Armstrong, who spent immense sums upon re-edification. Unfortunately, this re-edification can in no sense be called a restoration. Bamburgh could not in any circumstances be made a thoroughly satisfactory modern residence. Such could only be done by starting *de novo* on a new site and under free conditions. To spend a huge sum on creating a residence within the fortifications of Bamburgh could only be worth while from an archæological standpoint. The dwelling raised there under the ownership of the Plantagenet kings was gone. But its foundations and other evidences of its plan and character remained, and the knowledge of to-day ought to have been equal to re-creating it. That was not attempted. Clearly, there had been a grand hall seventy feet by thirty feet, entered by a porch through screens. On the other side of the screens were the typical three doorways. The outer ones led to pantry and buttery, the central one along a passage to a kitchen thirty feet by forty feet, with three great arched fireplaces and a set of aumbries. At the upper end of the hall—less distinguishable because of the Henry VIII contrivance to create a captain's lodging—were the solar and chambers. The King's Hall is mentioned in records dating as far back as

Henry III. The whole of the arrangement indicated may have dated from that time, and was certainly no later than the reign of the three Edwards. To have carefully and conservatively reproduced such a habitation would have been a worthy achievement. There is nothing of the kind. The kitchen end is no part of the present house. The present kitchens are in the basement and almost worthy of the ordinary London house of to-day. There is no mediæval hall, but a sort of huge T-shaped room got up with modern Gothic detail and presenting a cross between a large double drawing-room and the nave and transepts of a new church to which the chancel has not yet been built. The whole of the new building is neither "fish, flesh, fowl nor good red herring." It is neither worth describing nor illustrating, and is only worth mentioning as exhibiting the acme of expenditure with the nadir of intelligent achievement. Nature, however, at Bamburgh, defies the efforts of man. Nothing can ruin it. It carries off and gives presence to the most inefficient architecture. The mass of ancient masonry forming the walling of keep, of flanking towers and of curtain wall consorts with the grand rock on to which it is welded. The modern work, though disappointing in general conception and in particular detail, is not without some picturesqueness and appropriate outline, and it is the larger effects, wherein Nature is the predominant partner, that enable us to realise the character of this rugged outpost of our early annals.

DURHAM CASTLE, DURHAM

AT Bamburgh we have an example of a stern and unadorned Norman keep, but at Durham we shall find considerable remains of the richest and latest phase of the domestic work of that period. First, however, let us glance at the Durham of yet earlier days. Cuthbert—most famous of Northumbrian saints—not merely roamed arduously in his life ministry, but also experienced many a toilsome journey after his death, when his "incorruptible body" became the most precious possession of the great bishopric and monastic house which eventually settled itself on the hill of Durham. A peasant of Lammermoor, St. Cuthbert, in the latter half of the seventh century, preached Christianity widely and successfully in Lowland Scotland and northern England. He held sway as seventh bishop at Hexham or Lindisfarne; and, lastly, lived and died a hermit amid sea-birds on one of the rock-bound islets of Farne, where Aidan was his predecessor. Brought to Holy Island, his body rested there for two hundred years, till Danish inroads drove the island ecclesiastics to the mainland, where they wandered long and far with their charge, and then settled and enshrined the saint at Chester-le-Street. Another century passed. Then Ethelred sought insecure peace of the Norsemen by purchase, and Chester-le-Street proved unsafe for so holy a relic; so Bishop Aldhune and his following once again lifted it up and went forth to seek a more secure haven. When, after a stay at Ripon, they approached the

59.—THE QUADRANGLE GATES.

wild, tree-clad heights of the lofty peninsula round whose precipitous sides the river sweeps, leaving but a neck of connecting land to the north, the vehicle bearing the body refused to move further, and it was revealed that here, at Durham, the saint desired to have his final resting-place, that here :

> He chose his lordly seat at last
> Where his cathedral huge and vast
> Looks down upon the Wear.

In 995 a " little church of boughs of trees was made with all speed." Less than two hundred years later the splendid and unrivalled group of buildings, comprising cathedral, monastery and castle, which, although much impaired by destruction and reconstruction, is still one of our first architectural treasures, stood proudly forth in the complete perfection of its pure Romanesque style. Aldhune had replaced his church of boughs with one of stone, monastic buildings surrounded it, a town sprang up beyond, and the neck of land was defended by earth and timber bulwarks sufficiently strong to repel two Scottish attacks in the early part of the eleventh century, and to mark it out as one of the centres of Northern resistance when Senlac gave southern England to William the Norman. The Conqueror's first Northumbrian earl was admitted within the defences, but there he and his following were slain in 1069. Vengeance followed : William himself came north, burning and harrying as he moved ; a castle on the new pattern was ordered, a bishop of the new *régime* was appointed, and Durham was started on its unique basis of England's one great episcopal principality. " Cuthbert's successors grew into the lords of a palatinate, in which it was not the peace of the King, but the peace of the Bishop which the wrongdoer was, in legal language, held to have broken. The outward look of the city at once suggests its peculiar character. Durham alone among English cities, with its highest point crowned not only by the minster, but by the vast castle of the Prince-Bishop, recalls to mind those cities of the Empire, Lausanne or Chur or Sitten, where the priest, who bore alike the sword and the pastoral staff, looked down from his fortified height on the flock which he had to guard no less against worldly than against ghostly foes." Mr. Freeman thus clearly brings before our minds the picture of the place and the position which Bishop Walcher was the first to hold in 1071, and which his successors, with some modifications after the Reformation, continued to occupy till 1836. Ever a place of strength and wealth, the builder has never rested long, so that the great set of Durham edifices are a very epitome of English architecture during eight hundred years, and offer endless examples of what ought and ought not to have been done. The cathedral, perhaps, presents the most chequered history of noble building, wanton destruction and disastrous restoration ; but the castle's story is a most varied " romance in stone and lime," and it is with the castle only that we are now concerned.

In accord with William's plan of making Durham a chief stronghold of the north and setting the bishops to guard it, Walcher got to work with such energy that in 1075, when a Danish invasion threatened, Durham was considered a safe bulwark, and he was bidden from headquarters " with vigilant care to cause his Castle to be furnished with men, arms and provisions." Twelve years later, when Walcher's successor, Carileph, sided with Duke Robert against William Rufus, the latter, triumphant in England, never attempted to take Durham by force. He gave the bishop a safe conduct to come up to Westminster for trial, but would not let him go until he had surrendered a place which was clearly deemed impregnable. Yet these first Norman builders were concerned with its comfort as a habitation as much as with its strength as a fortress. An early twelfth century poem tells us not merely of its keep, but also of its halls, and its first chapel still survives (Fig. 61). It is probably Walcher's work, as it resembles our earliest English and coeval Continental examples. It consists of a short nave with aisles. Its plain vaulted roof is supported by six columns, whose sculptured capitals make up for primitiveness of workmanship by variety of subject—from a geometrical star pattern on the foremost in the picture to a sportsman and his hounds on that to the left, which, on its other sides, continues the subject with a stag at bay, showing the object, and a rising sun, showing the hour of the hunt. The east end rises up to the altar and had three window openings, a feature which has been destroyed by making one of them into an entrance to a modern staircase, and the early and fortress-like character of the north side has also been

lost by widening its narrow but deeply splayed pair of windows. Despite these barbarities of the dark age of the nineteenth century, the chapel is still a most valuable and typical specimen of a time sufficiently remote to make survivals rare.

Although the chief concern of Walcher's immediate successors was the building of the great minster which Carileph wholly designed and partly edified in succession to Aldhune's

60.—COSIN'S DOOR-CASE AND BUTTRESSES TO BEC'S HALL.

modest church, the castle was, as we know by existing foundations and contemporary record, already of great extent when a disastrous fire overwhelmed it in the middle of the twelfth century. This misfortune luckily overtook it at a time when a great building bishop was about to occupy the see. Hugh Pudsey was a nephew of King Stephen, and in every sense a splendid prelate. Preparing to go on crusade with Richard of the Lion Heart in a galley with

silver throne and kitchen utensils of the same metal, he decided to stay at home, and in varied parts of his episcopal dominion he undertook building operations with " Ricardus, ingeniator," as his right-hand man. As an engineer Richard was, perhaps, defective. Chains and screws had to straighten and maintain his Durham Castle walls in the eighteenth century, as they were then found to be three feet out of the perpendicular. But as a tasteful architect he was in the first rank, and his surviving work exhibits the Norman period at its climax, just before the pointed arch and the lighter style of the Early English school superseded it. At Norham and at Darlington he worked for his prince-bishop, and at Durham itself the Galilee and the Elvet

61.—THE NORMAN CHAPEL.

62.—ANTHONY BEC'S HALL.

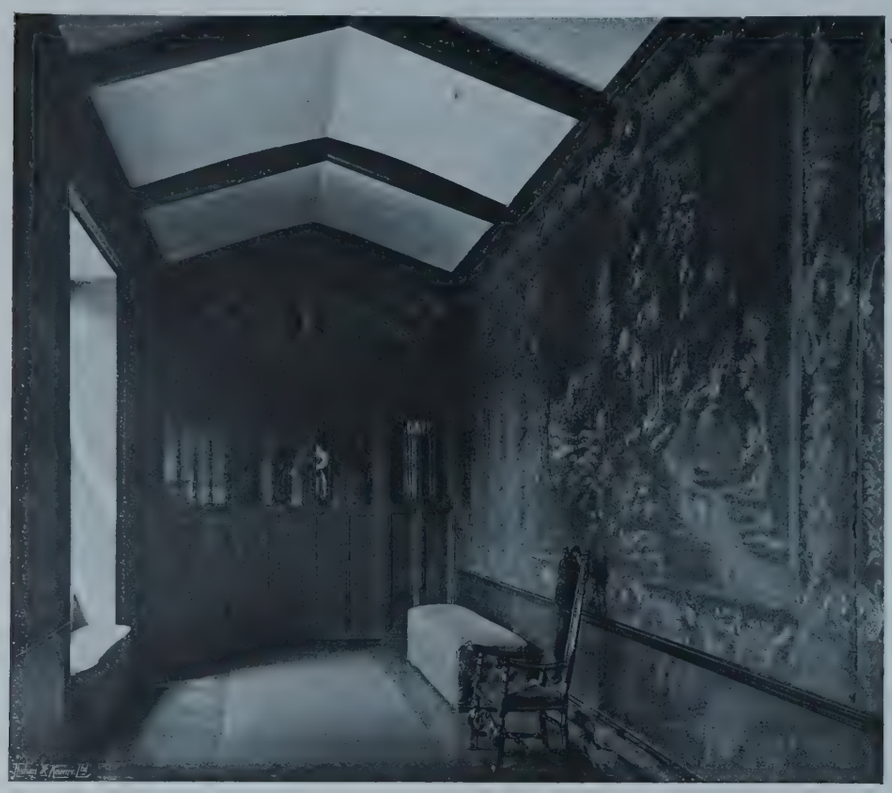
Bridge are of his day, as well as " Pudsey's Halls " in the castle. These were on two floors of a building set on existing foundations running east and west on the north side of the great courtyard of the castle. Of the lower one nothing remains visible except the great doorway (Fig. 63), which now stands in a gallery added in the sixteenth century, but originally was, no doubt, reached by a roofed stairway such as survives at Canterbury. In proportion and ornament it is the acme of its type and, as regards preservation, it is in excellent condition because the classic age covered it over with lath and plaster. Of the upper hall more evidences remain, for, though the greater part of it has been partitioned off into students' rooms and retains no original feature, a wide corridor still runs the whole length (Fig. 64) and exhibits the window arcading which occupied the south and west sides of the

hall, closely resembling the arching in the Galilee of the cathedral. No finer bit of domestic Norman remains to us. Within, it consists of a series of greater arches supported on columns and framing the windows, while lesser arches fill the intervening spaces and form seats on each side of the windows. Of the window apertures themselves, one only retains its original construction of a double arcade supported on columns. When the Charles II staircase was built this window ceased to be on an outer wall and was filled up. It has thus lived through to be opened up again in days when its historic and architectural value is appreciated. Ogival sashes replaced the others, and the outside effect may be seen above Tunstall's gallery (Fig. 67). It will be noticed that the arcading of the upper hall is broken by the projecting porch and doorway of one of the original newel stairways, three sets of which gave access to Pudsey's halls before Tunstall and Cosin, each in turn, added staircases of the size and character which were thought best in their days. Although Pudsey did some building on the western side of the court also, his work is practically obliterated, the chief structure there being the great hall (Fig. 60) originally built by Edward I's warrior diplomatist, Bishop Anthony Bec. Over one hundred feet long, and of proportionate width and great height, the manifold additions and subtractions, alterations and renewals have not destroyed its excellence and dignity, and it is still the pride of the University (Fig. 62). Fifty years after Bec, Bishop Hatfield enlarged it, and at the end of the fifteenth century Bishop Fox curtailed it in order to gain extra room for domestic offices—larger kitchens, increased butteries and

63.—DOORWAY TO PUDSEY'S LOWER HALL.

64.—WINDOW ARCADING IN PUDSEY'S UPPER HALL.

pantries, and new rooms for kitchen clerks and accountants—rendered necessary by the sumptuousness and elaboration which characterised the feasts of great men in the Tudor age. Fox's time at Durham was short. To an active Minister of State Winchester offered greater convenience with equal revenues, and to this see he was translated. But the moment of his rule at Durham was the climax of its episcopal history. At no time were its bishops more powerful, its buildings more complete, its furnishings more gorgeous. All this was dimmed by the Reformation, although ruin did not then fall upon Durham as upon some of her compeers. Bishop Tunstall steered her bark through the rapids of Dissolution and over the shoals of church plundering with judgment and skill. Though the sovereign rights of the bishop were largely modified, his dignity and purse suffered little, and the castle remained the home of a great lord, needing some remodelling to fit it for more peaceful and comfort-loving days. Pudsey's lower hall was cut up into a suite of rooms. A gallery (Fig. 65) was built up against its south side, connecting Bec's hall at one end with an easier staircase at the other, and, beyond that, with a new chapel of ampler size and more ornamental aspect than the dark and primitive one below. To this new chapel Tunstall transferred from Bishop Auckland Castle the carved oak stall work which his predecessor, Bishop Ruthall, had placed in the upper chapel there. Some of these stalls survive, as on each side of the doorway, and show admirable work of the latest Gothic period, and their present colour and condition are beyond criticism. Despite his caution and his fairly flexible conscience, Tunstall's long navigation between Scylla and Charybdis was not without occasional shipwreck, and, eventually, refusing Elizabeth's oath of supremacy, he ended a long life in retirement. For a century after his deprivation there was little change in his castle. While Protestant deans were pillaging and wrecking in the cathedral bishops were improving their habitations, and a very fine mantelpiece tells by its style as well as by its heraldry that we owe it to Bishop James, who ruled the county while his namesake ruled the kingdom.



65.—TUNSTALL'S GALLERY.

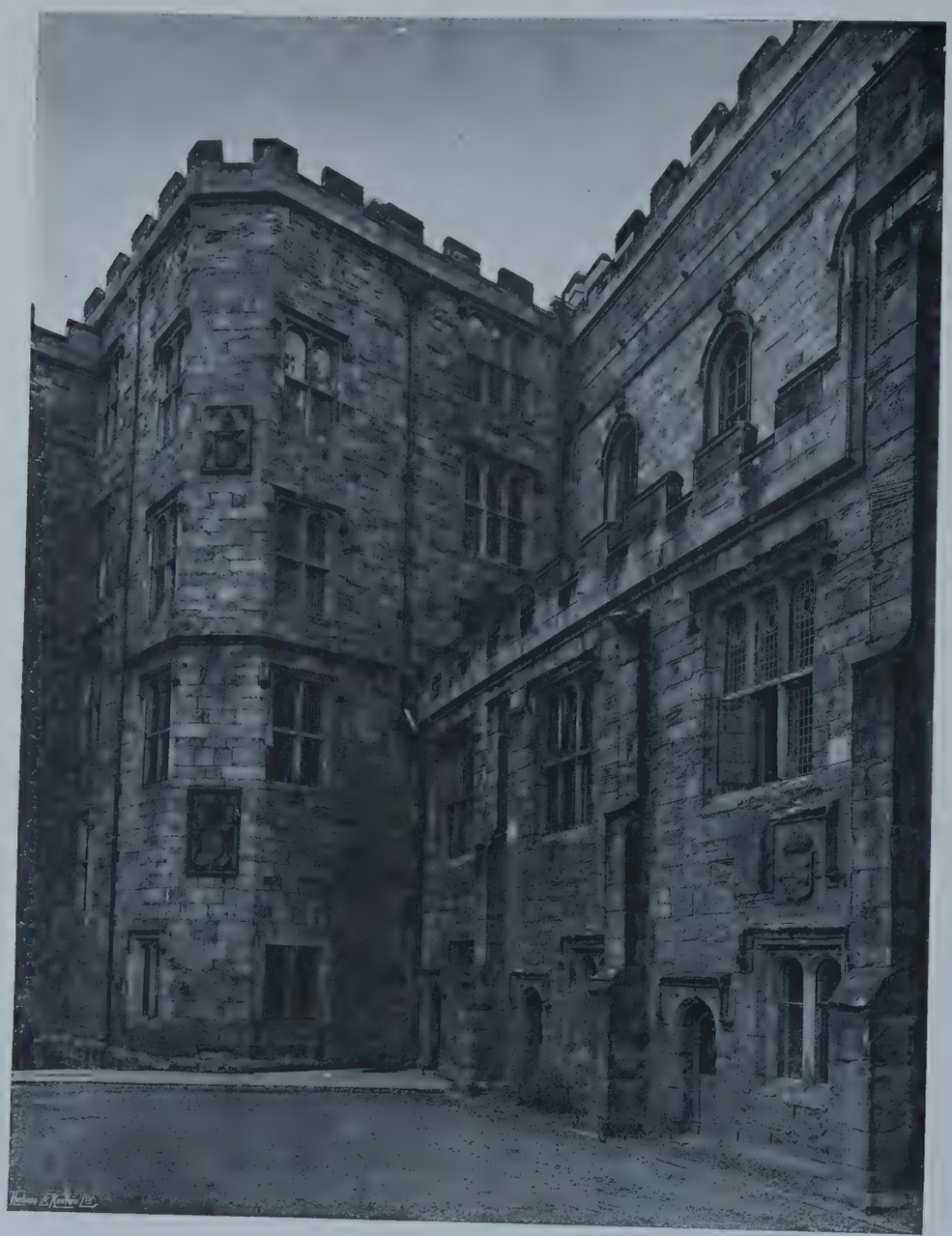
During the Commonwealth, however, destruction did not stop at the church; it invaded the castle also, and in both cases the capable and conservative Restoration bishop found abundant outlet for his energy. John Cosin, son of a wealthy citizen of Norwich, obtained a prebendal stall at Durham in 1624. He was a personal friend of Laud, and, with Richard Hunt, his dean, was eager to restore the ancient fittings, ancient customs and ancient ritual in the cathedral. Their action terribly incensed the Puritan section of the capitular body headed by Peter Smart, who preached violently against "our young Apollo who repaireth the Quire and sets it out gayly with strange Babylonish ornaments." While Laud was in power Cosin was supported, but with the Long Parliament the turn of Peter Smart came, who petitioned the House of Commons against Cosin's popish innovations. He was sequestered from all his

ecclesiastical benefices, and two years later went abroad. Here he resisted all efforts to induce him to go over to Rome, and, despite his proclivities, proved himself, as Fuller remarks, " the Atlas of the Protestant religion." Poverty well-nigh forced him to sell the books he had collected so carefully and loved so dearly ; but, luckily, what Evelyn describes as " one of the choicest collections of any private person in England " was saved to form the nucleus of the public library which he afterwards founded and endowed at Durham. Hither, as bishop, he returned soon after the Restoration to find the diocese, as a religious entity and organisation, a ruin. He applied himself to its re-edification not merely as a churchman, but as a business man. The repair of church fabrics, the renewal of church services, solemnity in ritual and discipline in organisation were not all his care. As chief administrator and land-owner of the palatinate, he intended to have his dues and his rights ; and if his agents showed slackness and indifference in the maintenance thereof, even if it were merely the case of a doubtful and disputed thirteen shillings and fourpence, they were severely rapped over the knuckles and asked if they were paid to do nothing. But if he was keen in the collection of the uttermost farthing, he was liberal and public-spirited in the spending of it. In 1668 he estimates that since he became bishop he has, besides his general and private annual expenditure, disbursed or remitted over forty thousand pounds, of which half had gone to the renovation of his official residences or the founding of his public library. Although Bishop Auckland, where he built the chapel *de novo*, accounted for the larger part of this, much expenditure was necessary to make Durham Castle again habitable. Not only had Thomas Andrews, a London Lord Mayor who had bought it of the Commonwealth for one thousand two hundred and sixty-seven pounds and tenpence, " miserably defaced " it, but Cosin declares that the Scots had " spoyl'd and ruined it with gunpowder." He could not inhabit it on the occasions of his first visits to his diocese, and writes from London at the beginning of 1662 to enquire " what

66.—COSIN'S STAIRCASE.

Univ. of Tulsa Library
Tulsa, Oklaho

roomes are there finished fitt to lodge me and 3 or 4 servants in when I come to Durham, for out of the Castle I would not willingly bee quartered any more." But, besides the necessary repairs, he institutes various new works, of which larger, easier and more sumptuous stairs than Tunstall's are to be the chief. He is very particular about them, and wishes the matter to be deferred till he is on the spot "to order them to my mind; for if the outward stone case be not



67.—TUNSTALL'S GALLERY AND COSIN'S STAIRCASE.

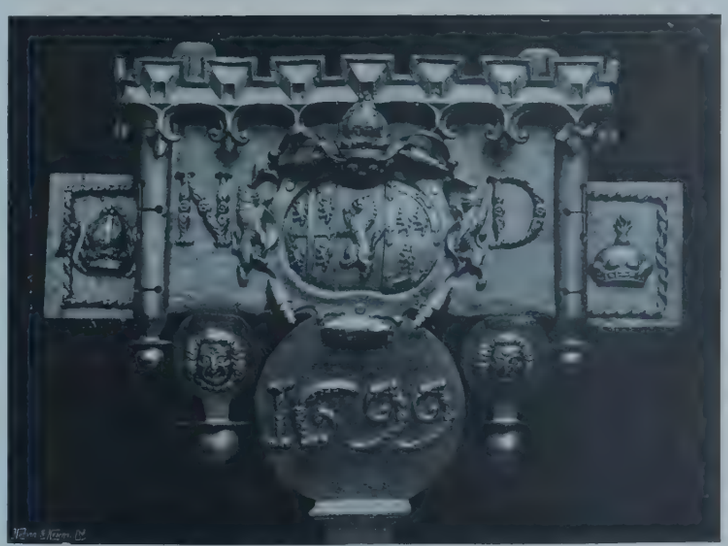
made to answere the Towre at the other end of the gallery leading up to the Chappell I shall not like the cost of a new stayre which the carpenter setts at so high a rate." We do not know what that high rate was, but we have the agreement with the masons relative to the "stone casing."

This building is interesting as giving a good example of the strong conservative feeling displayed in the architectural work done at Durham at this time (Fig. 67). It was "made to answere" Tunstall's work, and retains a full Gothic character, just as the new choir stalls and font cover, which were at this time being placed in the cathedral, are almost

mistakable, at a distance, for fifteenth century work, although a nearer inspection reveals a Wren-like acanthus pattern in the mouldings and amorini as finials. Inside the castle Cosin saw no reason for archaic treatment, and the woodwork of the stair (Fig. 66) is fully of his own period, except that, curiously enough, the handrail, instead of being flat-topped, retains a Gothic moulding. The carpenter ought not to have set a very high rate on it, as, though, like all Cosin's work, it is tasteful and effective, it is decidedly coarse. On the side next to the treads the pierced panelling is scarcely modelled at all, and on the outer side it may be racy and well designed, but there is a complete lack of that refinement which English woodwork began to show under Inigo Jones and Webb and excelled in under Wren and Grinling Gibbons. Various screens, such as that which appears at the end of the gallery, have the same fault, which must have been still more obvious when the mitre and eagles were gilt, as they were in January, 1665, when the whole of the gallery was painted by John Baptist Van Eersell. This "limner" with a foreign name was largely employed by Cosin both at Auckland and Durham, just as was Hendrick de Keyser, sculptor. After the set-back of Commonwealth times England had to depend even more largely than usual upon foreigners for the finer decorative work. Good masons, however, were to be had locally, and it is James Oliphant, John Richardson and Christopher Wilkinson who "sufficiently and artificially, according to the best of their respective arts and judgements, build, make and completely finish a certain doore case," together with the buttresses which flank it, such as they still appear, added to the elevation of Bec's hall (Fig. 60). If Cosin did not, as at Auckland, rebuild the chapel, it was lengthened by him, and received much reparation and refitting, and it is his arms that appear as an openwork device on the end crestings of the screen, although the inscription over the doorway tells you that the screen or gallery was placed by his immediate successor, Nathaniel Crewe, who ruled the palatinate for nearly half a century, and whom we have met at Bamburgh (page 48). "Many men have been canonised for works of benevolence much inferior to those of this prelate," and the castle bears evidence of his care in details only, such as the remarkably fine rain-water heads, of which the simpler one (Fig. 68), dated 1661, belongs to Cosin's time, while the more elaborate pair (Figs. 69 and 70) bear Crewe's episcopal

68.—ONE OF BISHOP COSIN'S RAIN-WATER HEADS.

In which his leaning towards Gothic survival appears in the crenellated cresting and Tudor Roses.



69.—ONE OF BISHOP CREWE'S RAIN-WATER HEADS.

Still retaining the Gothic cresting and having imitation arrow slits in the corner members.

initials, mitre and arms, as well as his coronet as a peer and his own arms. Photographed while they were taken down for repair, the detail of the excellent leadwork is admirably rendered.

Crewe's long episcopate ended in 1722, and until Bishop Barrington a century later indulged in pseudo-Gothic little was done at the castle. With Barrington's successor, Van Mildert, the days of the prince-bishops closed, and the castle became the home of the University which that prelate founded. Taste, knowledge and affection are now lavished upon the preservation and repairing of this most interesting and historic pile of buildings.

70.—ONE OF BISHOP CREWE'S RAIN-WATER HEADS.

Where the pure Christopher Wren design of the top moulding and other details is still accompanied by a belated Gothic feeling in the corner members.

CALDICOT CASTLE, MONMOUTHSHIRE

THE massive walls and towers of Caldicot Castle cover a space of some 350ft. by 250ft. with their splendid masonry, and there are abundant signs of finished workmanship and clever sculpture once decorating spacious hall and stately solar. Yet there is no positive record of how or when one stone came to be set on another. Nor is there evidence that any of its mediæval lords made it a chief residence. History shows us the moments when they may have found it well to be there; but it does not mention their presence. Architecture teaches us the periods when the fabric arose, was extended, was altered; but only thus can we conjecture under whose ownership the various portions took shape. Only, therefore, by circumstantial evidence, laboriously gathered and used with judgment, has it been possible for the annalists and antiquarians of Morganwg to give to Caldicot its proper place in the distressful story of their land. From Norman to Tudor the Marches of Wales were a scene of ever recurrent fighting: if there was nothing national, as between English and Welsh, or dynastic, as between one or another claimant for the throne, or civil, as between King and barons, well, then, was it not a nice, convenient time for settling a blood feud or a land claim between private neighbours? Security being wanting to life and property, defence was a first necessity, and the basis of domestic architecture was fortification. Along the whole borderland castle and castalet rose grim from the water or frowned down from the crag.

The district by Severn Sea, of which Caldicot forms part, was considered sufficiently held by the Saxons for Earl Harold to decide on building a house for King Eadward shortly before the latter's death in January, 1066, at Portskewet, which then, as afterwards, was a chief landing place from England into South Wales. But Harold underestimated the strength of the Welsh opposition to his administrative and domiciliary footing on their shore. The dispossessed Caradoc ap Gruffydd led a successful raid, and, coming "suddenly on the unfinished building, he slew nearly all the workmen, and carried off all the good things which had been provided for them and for the King." A year later Senlac was fought and the victorious Normans had sounder

71.—THE KEEP STANDING AT THE NORTH-WEST CORNER OF THE CASTLE.

and more determined views as to holding conquered territory. In 1070 William Fitz Osbern, Earl of Hereford, overthrew Meredydd ap Owen on the banks of the Rumney, a victory which, as Edward Freeman tells us in his "Norman Conquest," was the beginning "of that great Norman Settlement in South Wales which was a few years later to make Morganwg, above almost every other part of the Isle of Britain, a land of Norman Knights and Norman Castles." Although afterwards remodelled as a great Edwardian hall, the shell of the Norman keep at Chepstow remains to show us how the Normans held the land; for, although the chief, Chepstow is only one of thirty castles of which there is remnant or record in Monmouthshire. At Chepstow alone in the county does a square keep of the Norman period survive, for elsewhere the Norman builders could not work so massively. The knights, whose reward for successful invasion was the gift of fiefs in South Wales, did their best to erect some place of strength upon them, but often insufficient to withstand a Welsh assault; so that in 1094 the natives drove the intruders out of most of their castles, and William Rufus had to come in person to restore order and see to the construction of sturdier bulwarks for the future.

Nine years earlier the Domesday Surveyors had found that "Durand the Sheriff holds of the King one land in Carwent called Caldicot." Both Durand and his brother Roger had taken part in the conquest of the West and were not only soldiers but also administrators, being Sheriffs of Gloucestershire. Roger only had a son, and thus in Henry I's time it was Walter Fitz Roger who held the offices and the lands of both father and uncle. He was Sheriff of the County and Constable of the Castle of Gloucester, which he is said to have built, and in a paper read to the Caerleon antiquaries at Caldicot in 1853 Thomas Wakeman suggested that "having built his castle at Gloucester, he had time to attend to his estate here, and perhaps employed the same workmen to build this castle as he had that." This is possible, but not that "the building he erected consisted in all probability of the keep tower," because that has none of the features of Norman building and must date from more than half a century later. There are, however, embedded in its walling some fragments which betray a Norman origin, so that it is quite possible that Walter, or even his uncle Durand, chose this position surrounded by marsh and near to the Portskewet passage to erect thereon a castalet for the protection of those who administered and secured the estate which stretched right up into the

72.—THE EAST SIDE OF THE KEEP.

73.—THE WOODSTOCK TOWER THROUGH THE LANCET WINDOW OF THE KEEP.

74.—THE PRIEST'S SEAT IN THE KEEP.

forest hill land where the settlement of Shire Newton was formed.

Walter was much in favour with Henry I, and from him obtained the Constableship of England which his descendants so long held. In 1129 he was succeeded by his son Miles, who carried the family fortunes still further. By his marriage with the daughter of the conqueror of Brecknock he got large possessions there, and, being confirmed by King Stephen in all his honours and estates, "he ruled the whole Welsh border from the Severn to the Sea." This confirmation by Stephen was in 1136, when Robert, son of Henry I by Nesta of Wales, Earl of Gloucester and Lord of Glamorgan, took a conditional oath of allegiance to that king. Miles seems throughout to have acted with Robert, who renounced fealty in 1138 and became the leading adherent of his half-sister, the Empress Maud.

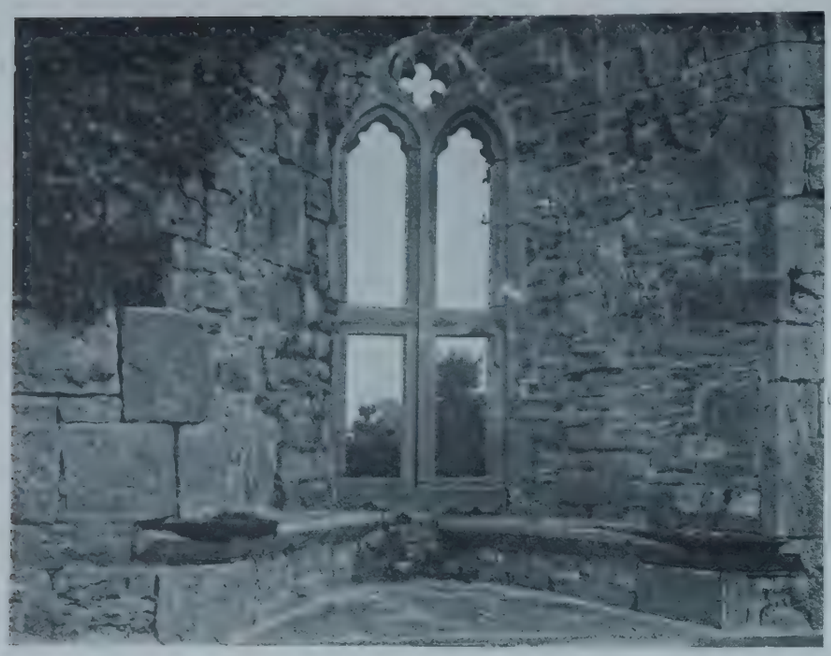
In 1141 he defeated and captured Stephen at Lincoln, and so prominent a part did Miles take under him that Maud conferred on him the Earldom of Hereford, because, as the charter declares, Lincoln

75.—THE WOODSTOCK TOWER AND THE KEEP, FROM THE CASTLE DITCH.

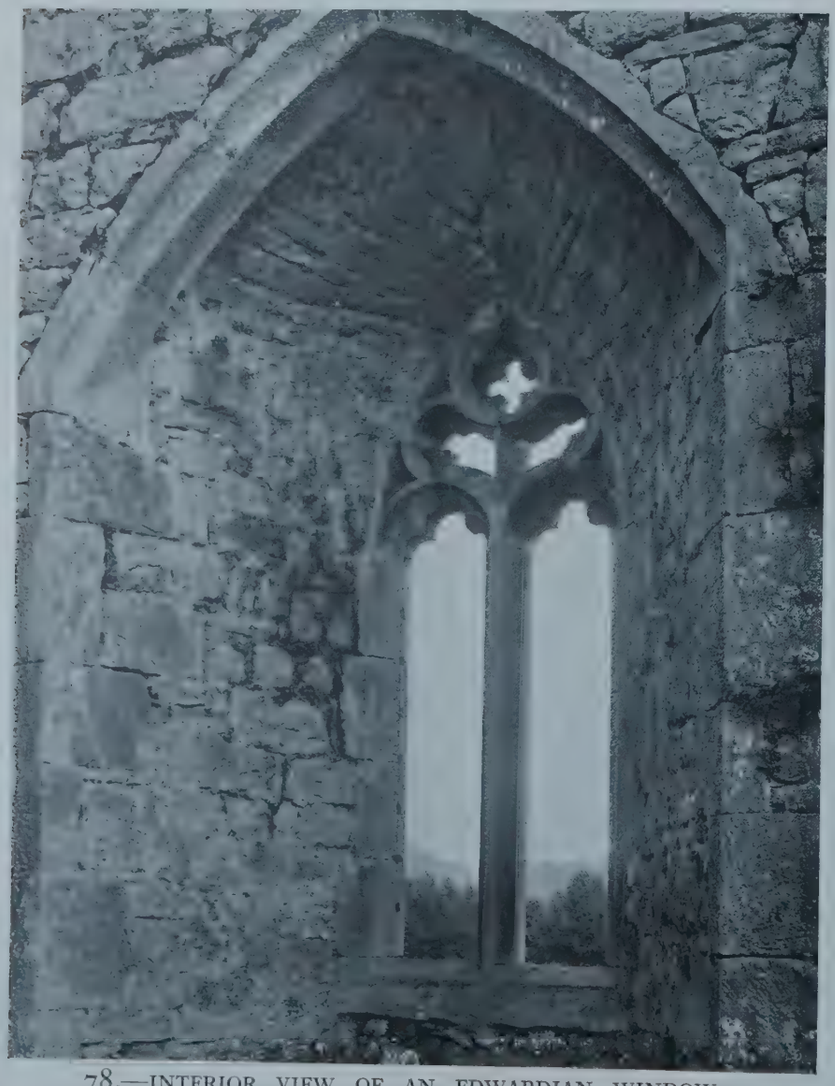
had been won *auxilio fratris mei et ipsius Milonis*. Eight months after Lincoln was won Winchester was lost. Robert was captured and could only regain his liberty by being exchanged for Stephen. Maud got away and so did Miles, reaching Gloucester "exhausted, alone and with scarcely a rag to his back." Gloucester now became the capital of the West, which supported Maud until Robert's death and her withdrawal to Normandy in 1145. Two

76.—THE WOODSTOCK TOWER.

years before that Earl Miles was "killed while hunting by an arrow shot at a deer," probably in the Forest of Dean, near Flaxley, where his son founded the Abbey of which important portions remain incorporated in the present house. As he left five sons, a long descent in the male line seemed secure. But the eldest died a monk of Gloucester in 1155, three others met with violent deaths, while the last one, Walter, appears to have lived to see the accession of Richard I, but



77.—SEATS IN A DEEP WINDOW RECESS.



78.—INTERIOR VIEW OF AN EDWARDIAN WINDOW.

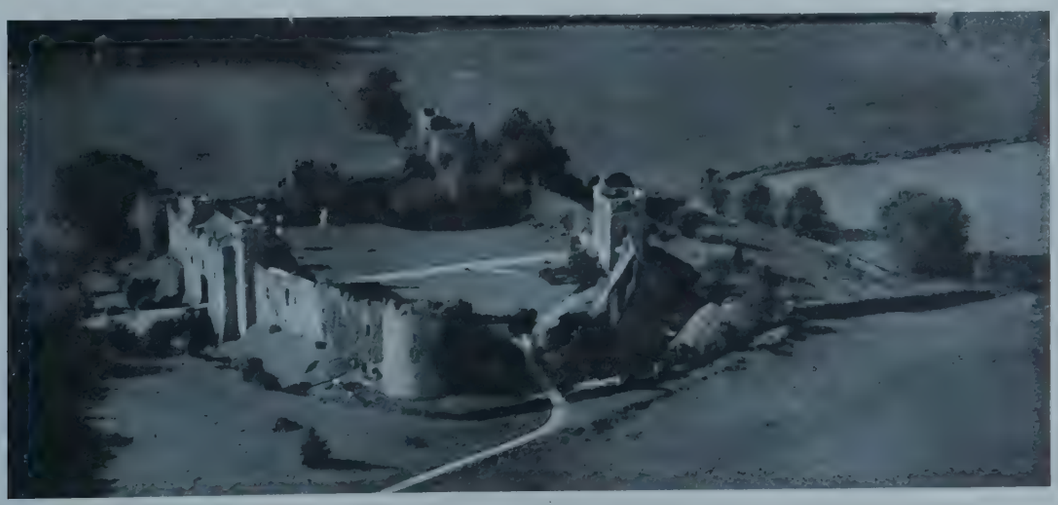
then, like his brothers, passed away, leaving no issue, so that his three sisters or their children became co-heirs.

Humphrey "with the beard," lord of the "honour of Bohon in the Cotentin," came over at the Conquest and obtained large English estates. It was his grandson, the third Humphrey de Bohun, who married Earl Miles' eldest daughter Margaret. He was a considerable person, changing sides in the Stephen-Maud struggle, and afterwards resolutely supporting Henry II against his sons. If his brother-in-law Walter saw Richard on the throne, Humphrey can never have owned Caldicot, as he died in 1187. It was his grandson Henry who will have gathered Margaret's inheritance, which included the Castle and half the lands of Caldicot, and carried with it a strong claim to the Hereford Earldom and the Royal Constableship which were conferred on him in 1199. But Octavius Morgan (whose architectural paper on Caldicot was read at the same time as Thomas Wakeman's historical notes) is therefore likely to have been wrong when, although he brushed aside his coadjutor's attribution of the keep to Walter Fitz Roger, yet sets down "its construction to Humphrey de Bohun, who married Margaret, daughter and ultimate heiress of Milo Fitzwalter, and through her acquired the title of Earl of Hereford, the office of Constable of England, and the Lordship of Caldicot, to which he succeeded about the year 1176, and which he continued to possess till the time of his death in 1187." It is a small matter, for if we attribute the

keep to Henry de Bohun, it still brings the date within the twelfth century and to the time when Bishop Pudsey was still using the Norman style for his fine halls at Durham Castle (Fig. 64), while the Caldicot keep exhibits the pointed arch and the round plan of tower building which was superseding the square keep and the round arch. Yet the forms of the outgoing style are not altogether wanting. It is entered on the east side (Fig. 72) through a pointed doorway, but immediately to the left as you enter is a round-headed doorway giving on to a stairway contrived in the wall thickness and descending to a basement floor. Several other round-headed doorways are to be found about the keep, the heads in one or two cases so narrow that, to obtain width, the jambs are set back with a splay at the top, which thus assumes a trefoil shape. This may mean a re-use of older material and that the Bohun keep replaced a smaller stone fortalice erected, as already suggested, by Sheriff Durand or Constable Walter.

The keep, built of an admirable local stone nobly fashioned, is set upon a rock base, but against its foundation walls earth was banked up so that it seems to stand upon a grassy mound. Higher even than the top of the mound is the entrance doorway, which, like Bamburgh (page 51) and later northern peel towers, was reached by a movable ladder or set of wooden steps. We therefore enter on the middle floor ; and not only is there a lofty room beneath, but below that again a dungeon occupying the base of the excrescence or secondary tower that juts out westward from the keep (Fig. 71). It gives the impression of a staircase tower, but is really a mass of masonry, solid except for the dungeon, deep set in the mound, and for a vaulted alcove level with the original parapet of the keep. Was it an early and elaborate *camouflage* ? Had it contained a newel stair, the walls would be of such moderate thickness as to induce an attacking party ignorant of its real solidity to direct his engines of offence against it. The real newel stair is in the wall thickness to the right of the entrance door

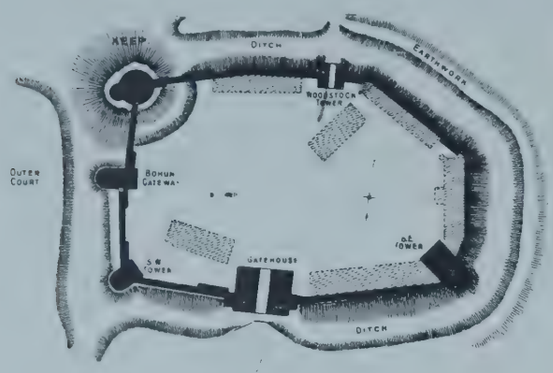
79.—EXTERIOR VIEW OF AN EDWARDIAN WINDOW.



80.—AEROPLANE VIEW OF THE CASTLE.

The Gate-house and the Edwardian windows show on the left. To the right Woodstock Tower and the Keep rise above the curtain wall.

and leads to the upper room. Both upper and lower rooms had hooded fireplaces of the type found in late twelfth century castles, but the lower room is lit only by loops at the end of its four splayed recesses, one of which contains a well 40ft. deep. "The upper room," says its owner, Mr. Cobb, "is less gloomy, having, besides two loops, two small windows, each with a loop below it which could be used for the discharge of missiles when it was not safe to keep the windows open. The recess of one of these windows forms a little oratory, with a priest's seat (Fig. 74) on one side and an altar on the other, and from it a passage in the wall leads to a doorway which originally gave access to a little wooden penthouse projecting from the side of the tower." That doorway and another higher up show clearly in the illustration (Fig. 71). The corbels and wall holes for the beams that supported the *garderobe* may be seen beneath the lower doorway. A set of holes higher up marks the places where other beams came through the walls. This must have been to support a wooden gallery or *bretesche* strutted up above the stone crenellation, and probably even forming part of a complete additional floor composed of timber and covered in with a conical roof. Only thus can be explained the rise of the eastern newel stair a storey above the original crenellation, while the western excrescence shows no mode of access to its higher crenellated platform, except across a floor from the east stair. Thus the early wooden tower on a mound, such as we see the Normans using in the Bayeux tapestry, was not entirely discarded, but was raised up on to the top of the stone structure introduced to add to the defensive powers of the fortress. Later on this wooden superstructure was replaced by one of stone, "the height of the new room being that of the old parapet which was thickened to form a rampart. The new roof was a leaden one, fragments of which still remain." The later crenellation has disappeared, but the thickening of the wall remains on the east side of the keep where an Edwardian Bohun inserted a lancet window (Fig. 73) level with the old battlement, to give additional light to the added room. It raked the whole northern curtain wall, in the middle of which the tower shown in the illustration was built in the time of Richard II, after the extinction of the male line of Bohun.



81.—GROUND PLAN OF CALDICOT CASTLE.

The keep appears to have been built independently of the curtain walls, for both its mound and its string-course are continuous, the curtain wall merely butting up against them and, indeed, obscuring one of the loops. The same may be said of the south-west and south-east towers and the Bohun gateway (see plan, Fig. 81), all of which must be contemporaneous with or closely following the keep. Whether they were at first connected by mere wooden bulwarks enclosing the bailey cannot now be proved, for stone curtain walls cannot have been delayed long and (though there were later alterations or rebuilding of parts) probably formed a complete circuit early in the thirteenth century. That was a period when the Bohuns played a prominent part in our constitutional history. Henry de Bohun, who inherited Caldicot from his grandmother, and through this descent became Earl of Hereford and Constable of England, lived through the troublous days of King John and was prominent among the barons who won Magna Charta in 1215. Succeeding him in 1220, his son, the fifth Humphrey and second Earl of Hereford, continued to strive for our liberties for over half a century and earned the title of the Good Earl. Through his mother the Earldom of Essex and the castle of Pleshey came to him. But he retained his interests in the west, and while he fought in Wales in 1244–45, Caldicot may often have seen him and been strengthened and extended through his orders. Architectural evidence, however, points to his grandson or great-grandson as the author of some of Caldicot's finest remains, for windows are illustrated (Figs. 77, 78, 79) that find their counterpart at Carnarvon (page 83), begun by Edward I in 1282, but still in an unfinished state when he died a quarter of a century later. When it was begun the third Bohun Earl of Hereford had succeeded his grandfather and was present as Constable with Edward in his North Wales campaigns. But, like his predecessors,

he was keen to scent out and oppose any increase or unwarrantable exercise of the royal power. His instinct, indeed, was in favour of baronial licence. To his friend Roger Bigod, fifth Earl of Norfolk, had come, through his grandmother, the office of Marshal and the Lordship of Chepstow. The two neighbours had, against Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, claims over the Brecknock inheritance that broke out into open feud in 1289. But Edward had no intention of allowing any return to that worst feature of feudalism—private warfare. The Earls received peremptory orders to keep the peace, and in 1291 found themselves in temporary durance, and placed *in misericordia regis* for large sums. Bigod as well as Bohun had his chief home in the east of England. But the dispute with Clare will have given importance to their Monmouthshire castles and estates. Thus Bigod, who had already completed the rebuilding of Tintern Abbey, where the monks first celebrated mass at the high altar in 1288, transformed Chepstow from little more than a Norman keep into an extensive and elaborate Edwardian castle. There, both in the altered keep and in large sections of the lower bailey, we find windows of the same type as those that grace the curtain wall of Caldicot, east of the later gate-house (Fig. 80). The desire of its mediæval owners to use the Caldicot stone grandly is nowhere more apparent than in these Edwardian windows. There is a massiveness of section and a vigour of design and handling seldom reached elsewhere, while the quality of the stone has enabled them to withstand the buffets of time and neglect. Age has merely mellowed the contours and freckled the weathered surface with sympathetic lichen.

If Bohun and Bigod broke the law of the land in 1289 and thus incurred penalty at the hands of the King, they were able to reply to him with a *tu quoque* argument eight years later. Summoned by him for foreign service in a campaign where he was not himself to be present, the Marshal and the Constable answered, that with him "going before his face and in the front rank," they would willingly serve as was the right and duty of their high hereditary offices, but that it was no part of their constitutional obligation to go without him. "By God! you shall either go or hang,"

82.—THE GATE-HOUSE.

exclaimed the angry King. "The answer to the alternative is in the negative," would be the parliamentary version of the much more racy reply of the Earls, who carried their point and made things rather awkward for Edward. That was the last of Bohun's public acts, for in 1298 he was succeeded by his son, the eighth Humphrey and fourth Earl of Hereford. There was now no ill feeling between King and Constable, for in 1302 the latter married the former's daughter, Eleanor, widow of the Count of Holland. To adequately house his royal wife when in Monmouthshire the young earl may have elaborated Caldicot, adding to its amenity, if not to its strength. But of the scope and character of the Edwardian work there or of the plan of the castle at that period we can speak but indefinitely, because of the large renovations which revolutionised both appearance and disposition at the close of the fourteenth century. The south-east curtain wall seems then to have been rebuilt, so that the fine windows illustrated may not even be in their original site. The earliest hall of the castle will have been the upper floor of the south-east tower, where the remains of an exceptionally fine hooded fireplace are still observable. The third or fourth Earl of Hereford probably made a greater and finer hall next door to it. Certainly walls of later date have been found "full of pieces of rich moulding adorned with four-leaved flowers and fragments of elegant pinnacles." The chief window of Bigod's oratory at Chepstow retains its four-leaved moulding, and the built-in oddments at Caldicot may have formed parts of a chapel of which the foundations, near the later gate-house, are traceable and are cross-hatched on the plan. But these foundations may have been those of a hall of which the windows were afterwards re-used at the rebuilding of the curtain wall where they are now situate. There are no positive data that enable us to bring the Caldicot of the Bohuns out of the realm of conjecture.

The fourth Earl of Hereford was with Edward I in the Scottish Expedition of 1300, when Carlaverock in Nithsdale was taken, the capture being narrated by Walter, a monk of Exeter, in a Norman French poem reciting the characters and exploits of the nobles and knights present. Hereford is "a rich and elegant young man" whose blue silk banner, adorned by six lioncels rampant, was, in right of his constableship, one of those planted on the summit of the captured Castle. With the accession of Edward II he found himself amid tumult and disaster. The new King was his brother-in-law, but was ruled by favourites whom the English barons could not brook. Hereford was of those who, headed by the King's cousin, Thomas of Lancaster, rose in arms against the ascendency of Piers Gaveston and witnessed his summary execution in 1312. Two years later the constable is with the King in the campaign that ended disastrously at Bannockburn. The King escaped and reached Berwick in flight. But Hereford was among those captured, and Gloucester was slain. An exchange restored the former to liberty, but he soon found a new favourite threatening his western possessions. As husband to one of Gloucester's sisters, Hugh le Despencer was given the Glamorgan lordship of the Clare family, and aimed at Dominion in South Wales, so that he was soon embroiled with his neighbours, the other Lords Marchers, including Hereford. Again under Lancaster's leadership, they form an association to drive Despencer from the kingdom, seize London, and, holding a Parliament, banish the favourite in 1321. But next year the King has gained strength and Lancaster made enemies. The hostile barons retreat to Yorkshire, and in the defeat of Boroughbridge Hereford is slain and Lancaster captured and executed.

The fourth Earl of Hereford was succeeded in turn by two sons and a grandson. With the death of the last in 1372 the male line of Bohun ended and his two young daughters became wards of the Crown with a view to the partition of their vast inheritance between two cadets of the Royal House, to whom they should be given in marriage. Accordingly, before his death in 1377 Edward III married Eleanor de Bohun to his youngest son, Thomas of Woodstock, who obtained the constableship, the Essex earldom with Pleshey, and the Caldicot estates, including the castle. By his nephew, Richard II, he was created Duke of Gloucester in 1385. His wife, whom he had married as a child, was only then coming of age, so her husband had merely been holding the Bohun inheritance as custodian until that event happened. The great works which were certainly carried out at Caldicot during his period of ownership were, therefore, probably not begun till after that date. Of them the principal survivals are the great gate-house on the south (Fig. 86) and the postern or Woodstock Tower on the north (Fig. 75). Mr. Cobb considers

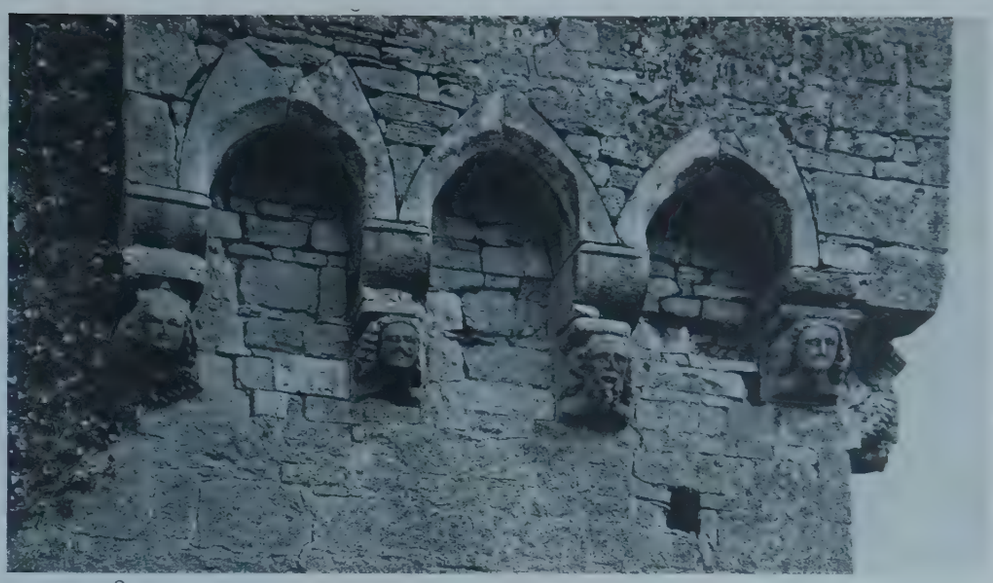
that the original " main entrance was on the west, under the Bohun Tower." Whether that is so, or whether Thomas of Woodstock pulled down a southern gate-house before erecting a new one in its stead, cannot be positively stated. The typical Edwardian gate-house, as exemplified at Chepstow, consisted of two round towers flanking the archway and the room over it. Of the Caldicot gate-house Mr. Cobb tells us that it " was to be flanked by two round towers, rising from square and deeply splayed bases. . . . Just as they had reached the point where the square began to die into the round, the plans were altered." The round may have been an intended renewal of what was there before. The adopted plan was altogether different. A straight façade, permitting no enfilading of the archway if attacked, was constructed, and, slightly recessed from it, rose turrets for garderobes. These, like the new northern tower, were surmounted with a bold and ornate machicolation (Fig. 85). But its detail was mostly a re-use of Bohun material. The heads are not a set and do not fit. The arches they support are each composed of two stones not hewn and worked for the purpose, but portions of the tracery of great windows of the Edwardian period. Except for some of the top stones the western turret is intact. The eastern one (Fig. 82) had entirely lost its upper storey when Mr. Cobb's father purchased the castle thirty-four years ago. It had, however, been much more perfect when Buck made a drawing of it in 1732, and the details he showed, such as the two perforated quatrefoils, were adopted for the renovation. The most regrettable destruction, however, was that of the very unusual framing of the upper windows. These project on bracketed window sills and had hoods over them. The brackets of the turret windows are elaborate, rising from a mask. The hoods of the central windows were probably ornate and long, judging from the extensive gaps which were caused by their destruction. These central windows, on the north as well as on the south side, lit a great chamber occupying the whole of the upper floor above the gateway and the guard-rooms. This was probably built to accommodate the duchess and was reached by a vaulted stairway (Fig. 90) rising from the courtyard. The steep flight to the left are the steps that give into the great chamber. Those through the central arch go on up to the roof, while the archway to the right opens on to the air ! There is no trace of a building against the

83.—ENTRANCE WITH DRAWBRIDGE DOWN.

curtain wall west of the gate-house, though a few yards away from it are the foundations of the detached building which we conjectured had been a Bohun chapel or hall. Mr. Cobb's suggestion is that Thomas of Woodstock pulled this down with a view to building a new chapel against the curtain wall, with an undercroft raising its floor to a level with the first flight of steps up to his wife's apartment. The abrupt termination of the duke's life at the age of forty-two will fully

84.—THE WOODSTOCK TOWER SEEN THROUGH THE GATEWAY.

account for the unfinished state in which the castle was left. Had it been completed, the duchess would have easily reached the chapel on one side of her chamber and the hall on the other. To obtain the latter, as he wished, the duke will have pulled down and reconstituted the curtain wall east of the gate-house and lit his new first floor rooms to the south with the Edwardian windows, and, no doubt, to the north, with large windows of his own era. The great chamber is now broken up into several rooms, but the main portion of it forms the present drawing-room (Fig. 88) and shows the excellent arrangement of the square-headed fireplace structurally connected with the archways to the window recesses. The mouldings of the fireplace jambs and of the lower part of the archway are worked on the same stones. The window recesses are filled with seats reached up three steps, but in the guard-rooms (Fig. 89) on the ground floor there is a much more serious climb for



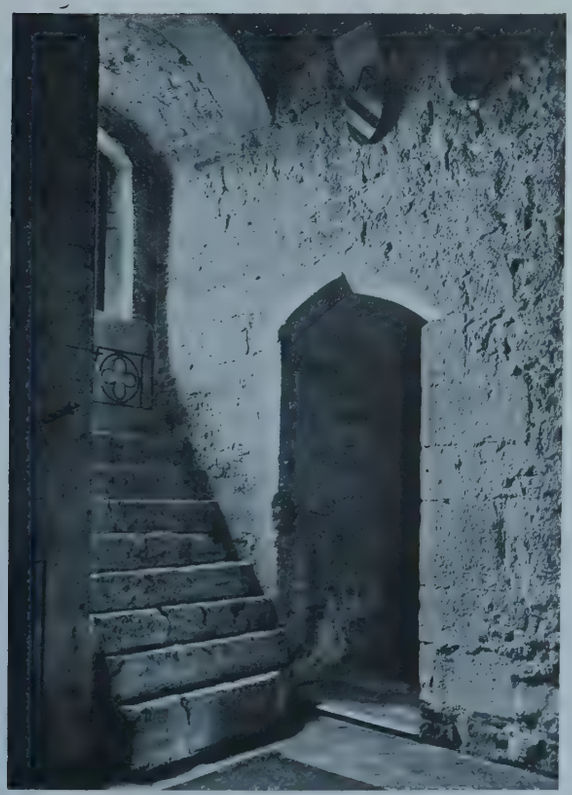
85.—MACHICOLATION OF ONE OF THE GATE-HOUSE TURETS.

86.—THE GATE-HOUSE.

anyone wishing to see out of window. Especially is this the case in the eastern guard-room, now used as a dining-room, where the windows looking into the courtyard are placed on either side of the fireplace and have sills 7ft. from the ground. As there are doorways in the return walls, the steps up can occupy little more than the wall thickness (Fig. 89) and are many and steep. The guard-rooms are divided by a wide archway open in the one case, but in the other (Fig. 87) largely filled in, a lesser archway within the greater giving access to a chimney-fitted alcove. Between the guard-rooms runs the deep entrance passage (Fig. 83), protected at either end by a portcullis and having a vault with moulded ribs springing from sculptured corbels and rising to foliated circles (Fig. 91). Through the inner archway (Fig. 84) is seen the postern tower occupying the middle of the northern curtain wall. Except at the top there is little renewal. The entrance doorway to the ground floor is seen to be a little higher than the ground level, for below it is an arched passage opening to the north on to the Castle ditch, and fairly deep down into it. Although the marsh land was a protection to the Castle, its ditch was above water level and was dry. As there are no steps, but an easy incline within the court down to the level of the postern arch, this entrance was adapted for horsemen and, no doubt, was in customary use, rather than the main entrance, where, when the portcullises were up, they must have disfigured sadly my lady's apartment into which they rose—the northern one, indeed, forming a grillage in front of the fireplace. The Woodstock Tower with its bold machicolation to the north stands nobly up from the ditch (Fig. 76). On one of the lower stones of its entrance arch is carved a quatrefoil panel with the word "Thomas" within it. Hence we may infer that the duke himself laid the foundation of this tower, while his duchess did the same to a building near by, for the plan (Fig. 81) shows a cross-hatched rectangle lying south of the tower which represents the foundations of a structure, and there we find another stone, similarly treated, but bearing the word "Alianore." Other buildings, of timber construction, no doubt, were set against the curtain wall, which was largely rebuilt and had chimneys with square headed and moulded fire openings set into it. Although not yet complete, Caldicot Castle must have been a defended house with much and stately accommodation when the tragedy occurred that ended its owner's career. His eldest brother, John of Gaunt, had taken the lead when their nephew Richard became King in 1377 at the age of eleven. But when John went abroad to try and win the crown of Castile Thomas aimed at control and was head of the council that deprived the young King of all power in 1386. For three years he and the other "appellants" ruled. Then Richard took courage to dismiss them and seize the reins of government. But he made no open move against Thomas, for John of Gaunt, returning to England, effected a seeming reconciliation between nephew and uncle. This continued until 1396, when Thomas began to plot for the recovery of his ascendency. The King pretended ignorance of this and bided his time. But on the evening of July 10th, accompanied by the London Trained Bands, he set out for Pleshey, which was reached early next morning. Gloucester came out to meet him at the head of a solemn procession of the priests and clerks of his newly founded college. As he bent in obeisance, Richard, with his own hand, arrested him and, leading the procession to the chapel, assured his "bel oncle" that all would turn out for the best. After breakfast Richard returned to London, but Gloucester was taken in custody direct to Calais, where Mowbray, the Earl Marshal and his enemy, was Governor. Here he shortly ended his days—not "of fever," as was reported to Parliament, but, as an eye-witness afterwards related, murdered by smothering between two feather beds. The attaint and forfeiture that followed did not last long, as Richard was soon to share the fate of his uncle. Caldicot was restored to Duchess "Alianore" in 1399. Her only son was already dead and she shortly followed him to the grave. There is little more to be said of Caldicot. Through Gloucester's eldest daughter it passed to the Staffords, Dukes of Buckingham, who all met violent deaths, as we shall again hear at Maxstoke (page 228). At one time it was occupied by a cadet of the house, Henry Stafford, the second husband of Margaret Beaufort, Henry VII's mother, who, Leland tells us, stayed at Caldicot before the birth of that King. The Yorkist triumph for a time deprived the Lancastrian Staffords of their great estates. Henry, second duke, was, however, restored in blood by Edward IV and, assisting Richard III to seize the throne in 1483, obtained all he asked for from that King. He became Lord High Constable, and additional estates, as

87.—IN THE WEST GUARD-ROOM.

88.—FIREPLACE IN THE GREAT CHAMBER.



89.—IN THE EAST GUARD-ROOM.

90.—THE STAIRWAY TO THE GREAT CHAMBER.

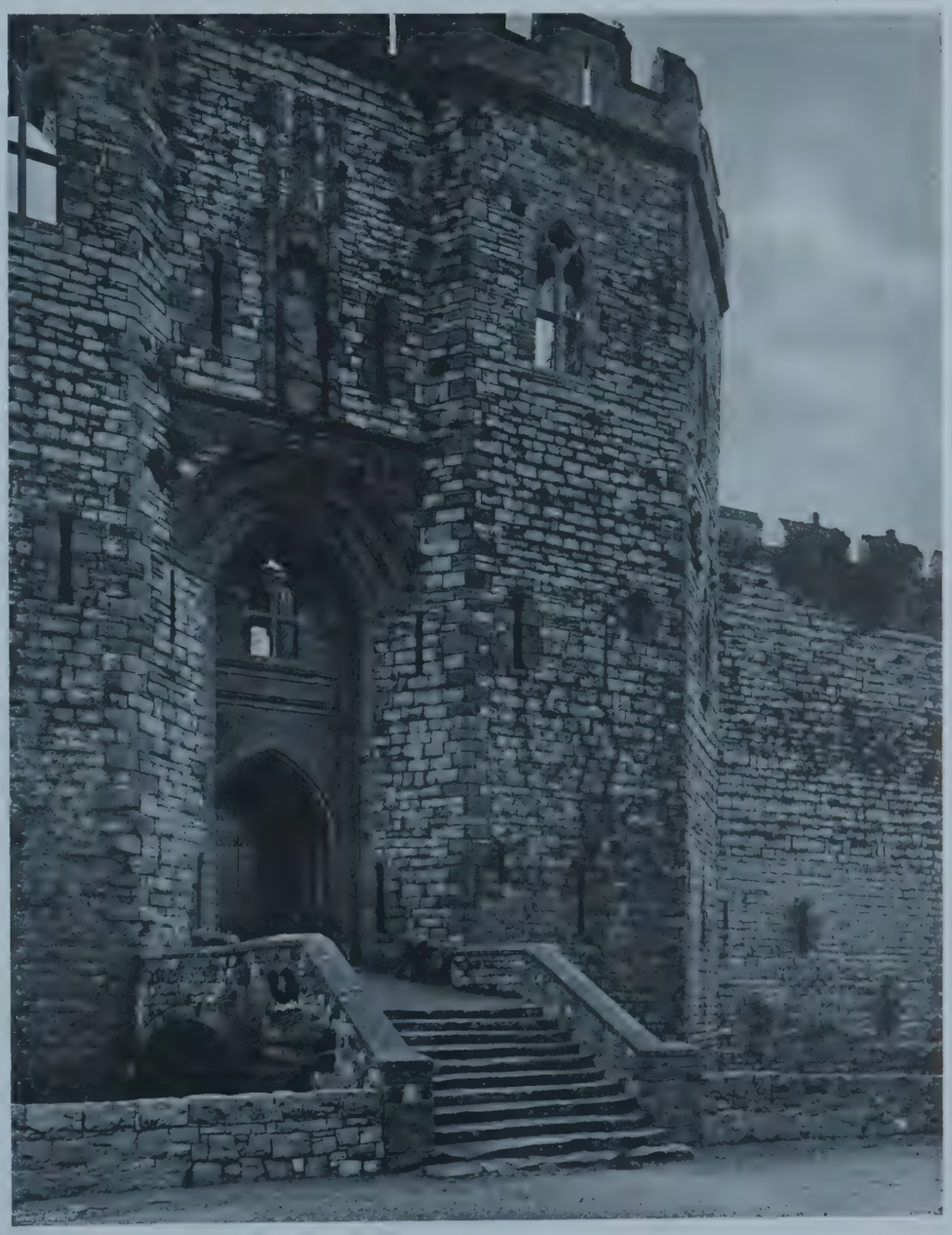
" cosyn and heir in blood of Humphrey Bohun Earl of Hereford," were conferred on him. For a few months he was almost King of Wales, being constable of all the royal castles there with right of levying force. His castle of Brecon was his headquarters, but Caldicot, no doubt, saw him. Brief, however, was his day of fortune. The year had not ended before he turned against Richard and, gathering, among others, his Brecon and Caldicot tenants and retainers about him in armed array, sought to pass into England and there join others of Richard's enemies. But that autumn there was abnormal rainfall in Mid-Wales, and Wye and Severn rose in excessive flood. The turbid torrent prevented all crossing and was long remembered as " the Duke of Buckingham's Water." His men, rationed and equipped for a few days only, began to slink homewards. Cut off from a return into Wales by a superior force under Vaughan of Tretower, the duke fled north in disguise, which was revealed by one of his Shropshire tenants greedy of the reward. Only four months after he had aided Richard to the kingship he laid his head upon the block. His son, restored by Henry VII, came to a like end under Henry VIII, and Caldicot was annexed to the Duchy of Lancaster and so remained for 300 years. It became deserted and disused. Very likely, on the fall of the last Buckingham it lay open to popular destruction and was wrecked and defaced. Exactly what happened was forgotten even in 1613, when a Court of Survey found " that there is an old Auntient Castle in Caldicott and that it is in ruin and decay, but the cause of the decay thereto they cannot present, for it was before the memory of this jury or any of them."

91.—THE VAULT OF THE GATEWAY.

" In later days," adds Mr. Cobb, " the place became a quarry, and to-day the houses and boundary walls of the village are full of great wrought stones which clearly were never intended for the places they now occupy." Yet, so ample was the material, so excellent the workmanship of the great spreading structure that three centuries after the jury had declared it a ruin " before the memory " of any of its members, we find it, thanks to the care and judgment of Mr. Cobb and of his father before him, once more a place of inhabitance, retaining in high degree the spirit, the appearance and, indeed, much of the original detail of the days when mediæval art and architecture were at their height, when a Bohun sought to fitly house the daughter of his King, and a Plantagenet remodelled the place for the delectation of the Bohun heiress who was his wife.

CARNARVON CASTLE, CARNARVONSHIRE

BEGUN towards the end of the thirteenth century, but not at all complete before two decades of the fourteenth had sped, Carnarvon Castle is typical of how a fortress containing a royal residence was planned when Edward I was King. True, it has not the regular rectangular plan of those of his castles which, like Rhuddlan and Harlech, were placed on a level and unencumbered piece of ground. The site and past of Carnarvon were both determining factors in its form, and we find nothing of the squareness and symmetry which we shall see at the later castles of Maxstoke and Bodiam (pages 225 and 239). They are built on grassy, well watered flats where no previous building was, and where, with adequate preparation of earth moving and moat making, a conception set out on a drawing board could be exactly materialised. But at Carnarvon, though there was no grandeur or picturesqueness of position, there were natural and artificial conditions which settled its contours and gave it individuality. A low ridge of shaly rock, somewhat raised by a covering of consolidated pebbles, sloped to the shore of the Menai Straits, where the Seiont river flows into it. Here, then, was a landing-place and



92.—THE KING'S GATE.
It occupies the centre of the north or town side.

harbour readily made defensible against local attack. The Romans and, later on, the Normans used it. There seems little doubt that the latter, when Hugh Earl of Chester occupied this portion of North Wales during the last years of the eleventh century, established here a motte or mound castle of timberwork such as we have supposed Caldicot to have been (page 68) at the same period and under similar circumstances. It was probably transformed into a defended residence by the succeeding Welsh princes, and all trace of it did not disappear until fifty years ago. Recognising this, we can understand the history of Edward I's castle, of its slow and gradual erection in sections, and of its traditional occupation by his Queen when she gave birth to her son Edward. All this was very hazy, and the birth chamber was located in a building which certainly did not exist at the time of the birth until Mr. C. R. Peers, as Chief Inspector of Ancient Monuments, had charge of the repairs from 1908 onwards and used every scrap of available record, in conjunction with the evidence which the fabric itself could yield to his practised eye, to draw up a consecutive and credible story. His admirable and exhaustive paper in the 1915–16 Transactions of the Society of Cymmrodorion is the basis of this short account.

In March, 1283, Edward I occupied Conway and made it his headquarters. Thence his lieutenants advanced along the coast, and Carnarvon will have been in English hands by the time,

93.—THE CASTLE AND TOWN IN 1750, BY BOYDELL.

or soon after, Prince David was captured in June. In the next year the town was constituted a free borough and £1,500 were spent on its walls before November, 1285. There is no entry in the current Pipe Roll with reference to castle building, beyond ditchin ground about and "over against the castle." A castle, therefore, had been found existing, and Lloyd, in his "History of Wales," states that Carnarvon was a residence of Llewelyn the Great. There can be no doubt that the eastern half of Edward's castle—so circular in shape—was afterwards built along the line of the ditch which enclosed the motte or mound on which the Welsh prince's timber-framed dwelling stood. Within it Queen Eleanor will have been confined on April 25th, 1284, and not, as sight-seers used to be informed, in a room of the Eagle Tower, the building of which cannot have been commenced till the following year. At that time the town lying north of the castle was defended by its new wall. It joined on to the old earthworks at the east corner (F on plan, page 91). But the west corner ended at the water's side, and the first duty of Edward's engineers was

94.—THE SOUTH WALL FROM WITHIN.
Showing, from left to right, the Black, Chamberlain's and Eagle Towers.

95.—THE CASTLE FROM THE RIVER.
Showing the west and south sides, and, from left to right, the Eagle, Queen's, Chamberlain's, Black and Cistern Towers.

to build the section of the new castle that started at this point and followed the shore till the old defence was reached. Thus they began with the Eagle Tower (3) and carried their work along to a point rather beyond the Chamberlain's Tower (5), where Mr. Peers found a definite junction in the masonry of the curtain wall. Having thus made safe, as they hoped, the work was suspended, the Royal Exchequer having, no doubt, more pressing calls. But the Welsh, noticing that the English King's forces were being diverted to Gascony, rose in 1294 and captured Carnarvon. They probably broke through the town defences, and as the castle was almost open on the town side, it would fall with the town. The English, including Sir Roger de Puleston, the Sheriff, were killed and their settlement was burnt. This burning would include all that was combustible in the castle. The three new towers will have been reduced to masonry shells. The King's Hall against the curtain wall, between the Queen's and Chamberlain's Towers, will have been destroyed and also all the buildings on the old motte. A large measure of reparation and extension would be clearly necessary if any future revolt was to be countered. Put in hand in 1295, the next section of the work carried the masonry defences from the Chamberlain's to the North-East Tower (11), against which the town wall terminated on the east just as, on the west, it abutted against the Eagle Tower. The masonry of this section was more or less complete by the close of the century, and as, meanwhile, the breaches caused by the Welsh capture of the place had been made good both in castle and town walls, the English settlement and stronghold were adequately protected. But the fall of the castle on the taking of the town in 1294 was a practical and dire lesson, showing the necessity of completing the cincture of the castle if security was to be ensured. Yet the final stage, shutting off the castle from the town by the connection of the North-East and Eagle Towers with curtain wall and additional towers, was very protracted. The King's attention and his limited revenues were much engaged elsewhere, and Edward I was dead long before the work was finished. Indeed, as Mr. Peers points out, "there is abundance of evidence from the building itself and from documents that the castle was never completed." The last important work under Edward I is revealed by the 1303–4 accounts showing a total disbursement of

£582 12s. 8½d., and concerned with the roofing, flooring and fitting of the southern towers. After that little was done until the fear of a Welsh rising assisted by a Scotch invasion awakened Edward II to the peril of North Wales after Bannockburn. During 1315 and the subsequent seven years the castle circuit was completed by the building of the Granary and Well Towers with the great King's Gate between them (Fig. 92). The former master mason, Walter de Hereford, is replaced by his subordinate, Henry of Elreton, and there is an indication of a great rise in wages having taken place, for whereas 1s. a day had been Walter's pay, Henry obtains 2s. Mr. Peers also finds that :

> The names of the quarries whence the stone for the castle was obtained now occur for the first time, though, as there is no difference in the materials of this part of the castle from those in the other parts, it is probable

96.—THE EAGLE TOWER FROM WITHIN.

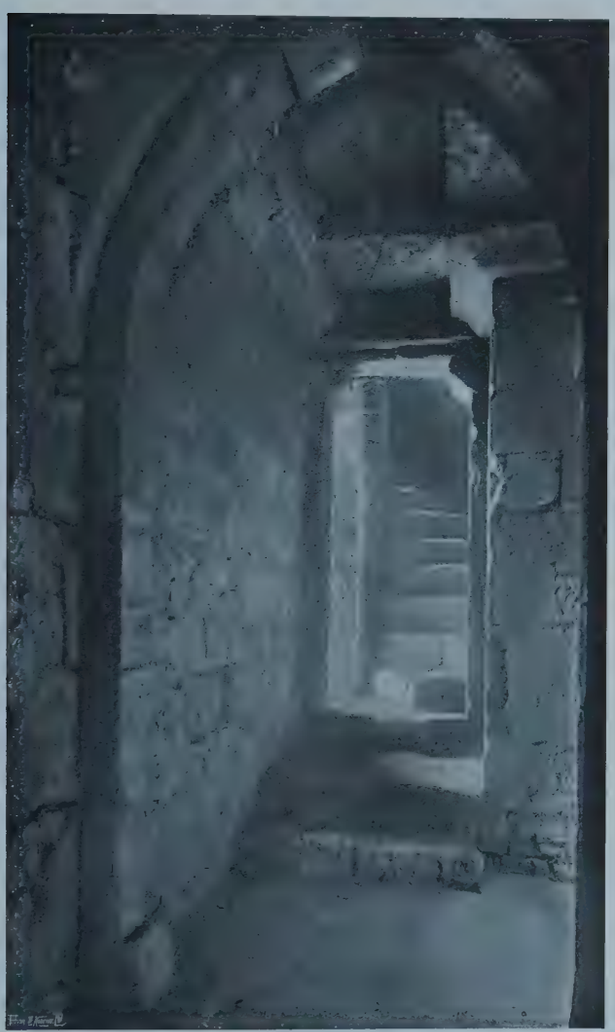
that these quarries were not now newly worked. Most of the stone came from Anglesey, but not all, as a quarry *ad finem ville*, at the town's end, is mentioned. Others are Aberpwll, Mapbon, the black quarry, and "ponte meney," the last, from the way in which it is mentioned in the accounts, apparently on the east bank of the Menai Straits. The quarry of Aberpwll supplied the coarse-grained sandstone which is used for the ashlar work throughout the old masonry of the castle, the walling being of a fine-grained limestone; both stones are of admirable quality and, beyond a little weathering, are perfectly sound to-day.

The carpenters were as busy as the masons. In November, 1316, "thirty-six oaks were felled and sawn into thirty planks to cover in the Eagle Tower," (Fig. 96), which must have remained a shell since the 1294 burning. Other towers are being roofed, and the general accommodation within the castle baileys was increased by the taking down of Llewelyn's timber-framed hall at Conway and its removal to and re-erection in Carnarvon Castle, where also a new use was found for the timber of the Welsh prince's dwelling where Queen Eleanor was probably confined in 1284. The last detailed accounts of works at Carnarvon during Edward II's reign cover

97.—THE NORTH-EAST END FROM WITHOUT.
Showing, from left to right, the Queen's Gate and the Watch, North-East and Granary Towers.

the year 1321 and "show that the upper parts of the King's Gate, with the hall over it, were being built," and there are items for iron cramps "to hold together the great stone above the castle gate carved into the figure of the King." The cramps have done their work, and the great stone is still there, but even the "twelve iron spikes to protect the head of the figure of the King that birds may not sit on it" did not prevent decay of the stone, and Edward II's features are gone. His political troubles sufficiently account for the breaking off of work on the castle after the close of the year 1321. A 1343 survey shows that much was left to be done, and certainly, as regards the Queen's Gate and the hall over the King's Gate, that condition was never remedied. To complete the scheme of buildings designed to back against the curtains from the Queen's to the King's Gate would have involved much clearance of the old motte, which still occupied most of the area of the outer bailey, and this was never fully accomplished until recent times. Small

works, mostly in the way of repairs, went on during the fourteenth century, and a garrison was maintained which successfully resisted the sieges by Owen Glyndyr and the French in 1403 and 1404, although in the latter year the garrison seems to have been limited to twenty-eight men. After that decay set in, and under Henry VIII Carnarvon is one of the Welsh castles that are found to be "wholly unfurnished with means of defence, and could not be defended an hour." Slight reparations then

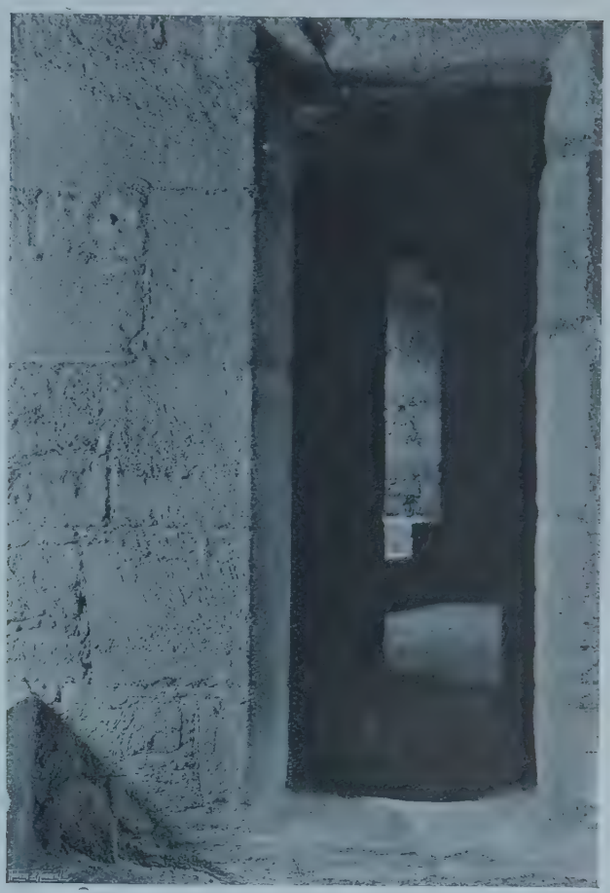


98.—STAIRWAY IN THE CHAMBERLAIN'S TOWER.

instituted did not long arrest the downhill trend, so that the Constable in 1609 reports that the castle is—

> No use at all but for the goale of the county and that by usurpacion. The tymber ys all rotten having not been repayrd since Edward the fyrst his tyme that built yt. The walls are still exceeding good, and wold soone be made to serve for a garryson yf cawse (as God forbid) shold requyre.

Cause did require when Charles I and his Parliament came to blows and the castle stood three sieges. Such destruction as they may



99.—DOORWAY OF A LITTLE CHAMBER IN THE EAGLE TOWER.

It was once believed that Edward II was born within it.

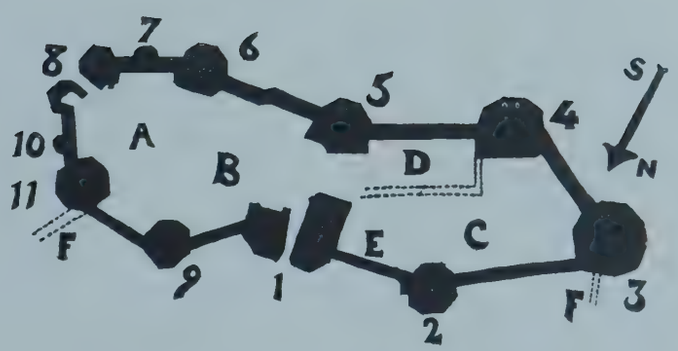
100.—WALL PASSAGE OF THE SOUTH CURTAIN OF THE INNER COURT.

have occasioned was as nothing to what was threatened when peace returned to the land, for in 1660 the local gentry entered into an undertaking to entirely demolish it. Fortunately their undertaking did not materialise, and the solid stonework withstood nearly two more centuries of neglect before its historic and architectural value was recognised, and repair began soon after 1840. Valuable work was done, but, unfortunately, what remained of the motte was treated as a rubbish heap and the only remains of the Norman occupation were laboriously removed. Greater knowledge and a more intelligent system of reparation have prevailed since 1903, when the building was handed over to H.M. Office of Works, and it passed into Mr. Peers' charge. What has been discovered and accomplished and what the detailed disposition and defences of the entire castle prove to have been are fully set forth in his comprehensive paper already alluded to, which also has precise plans of the whole and of the parts. There the full story may be read, but the illustrations and block plan now given, together with a few further explanatory words, will suffice to give a general impression.

101.—TOWERS OF THE CASTLE.
Sketched by Eleanor Fortescue Brickdale.

The plan shows the Edwardian model adapted to the natural features and previous occupation of the site, which caused it to assume a long shape drawn in at the centre so as to resemble the figure 8. The principal entrance, or King's Gate, occupies the town side of the centre and, with the buildings behind it, forms the division between the two baileys. The outer one can be entered by the Queen's Gate (Fig. 97) at the east end. Near it are the little watch tower and the matching Cistern Tower, while the massive Black, North-East and Granary Towers are the main defences of this section. All the large towers bear some similitude. A newel stair leads to a large chimneyed room and on each floor, and then to the roof. In the thickness of the wall are little chambers and closets not shown in the block plan. The inner bailey is defended by four great towers, with the Eagle Tower in chief. It was the "Great Tower" of the first work and must have suffered much in the 1294 rising, as we hear of its being "made anew" in 1316–17, when the stone figure of an eagle which has given it its name ever since was set up on it. It is a decagon, with walls 15ft. thick at the base where the undercroft has a postern opening on to the quay. Of the three storeys above, the lowest has a large room 34ft. across, and the highest one that is 3ft. wider, owing to a set-off of the walls. There are, besides, in the wall thickness, various little chambers of pentagonal, hexagonal and octagonal shape, besides a small kitchen and chapel and the rectangular room, about 6ft. by 12ft., which was shown as the birthplace of Edward II until it was demonstrated that that event took place before the tower was begun to be built. It has a fireplace as well as the three large rooms, of which the upper ones are lighted with tall transomed,

two-light windows having square-shouldered tops. There are similar windows in some of the other towers, but the arched type only occurs in the King's Gate, where the cusp-headed lights are surmounted by a quatrefoil and resemble those at Caldicot (page 72) and Chepstow. At Chepstow the battlements of the Marten Tower are set with busts like those on the Eagle Tower, where the newel stair, after reaching the roof, is carried up in a tall hexagonal turret, two other such turrets also rising from the wall top to a total height of 110ft. from the quay below. The battlementing here escaped the "thorough restoration" which was elsewhere inflicted in Victorian times and it is therefore much more pleasing and interesting. Now that floors and roof have been replaced by the Office of Works the Eagle Tower offers an invaluable example of the moment when castle building reached the point where military requirements remained dominant, but were accompanied by a good deal of ampleness and amenity of accommodation. After the careful overhauling which it has now undergone the whole castle is a treasure house of information to the student of mediæval life. It is also attractive to the lover of the picturesque, for if the site lacks grandeur the irregular form it imposed on the plan adds to the charm of the grouping, and the towers, rising with their turrets at various angles and to different heights, form a picture of the most striking and satisfying character.



101A.—PLAN OF CARNARVON CASTLE.

A *Site of original Motte Castle.* B *Outer bailey.* C *Inner bailey.* D *Foundations of hall.* E *Site of kitchen.* F F *Points where town wall joined the castle.* 1 *King's Gate.* 2 *Well Tower.* 3 *Eagle Tower.* 4 *Queen's Tower.* 5 *Chamberlain's Tower.* 6 *Black Tower.* 7 *Cistern Tower.* 8 *Queen's Gate.* 9 *Granary Tower.* 10 *Watch Tower.* 11 *North-East Tower.*

LITTLE WENHAM HALL, SUFFOLK

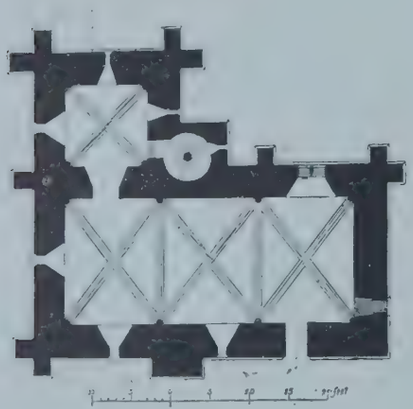
FROM the castles of kings and earls we now pass for a while to the smaller defended dwellings of knights and squires. Little Wenham Hall is a priceless survival of the unfit. It is a house which no one nowadays would or could live in. From the utilitarian point of view it should either be altered beyond recognition, or swept away. Fortunately this "nation of shopkeepers," though it has not allowed its Government to deal with such matters, has had individuals who could see things from an archæological and æsthetic point of view, and thus has Wenham been saved from decay and obliteration. It is unique in being a well-preserved thirteenth century dwelling, largely built of brick—a material little used by the English until the fifteenth century, when we shall find it at Tattershall (page 284). But, besides that, it illustrates in a remarkable degree how a country knight in the days of Edward I planned and built his dwelling. A large room or hall, with a chapel opening out of it, a single small chamber above the latter, and a large vaulted undercroft for retainers and storage, were, besides a detached kitchen and set of offices, all the necessary accommodation. This we find at

102.—FROM THE SOUTH-EAST.

103.—FROM THE NORTH-EAST.

Wenham, and the building that contains it is, thanks to the attention of the late Mr. G. E. Crisp, in good substantial repair and preserves intact a large part of the original details. It stands on a bank sloping south and west, and below is a house, dating from about 1700, where lives the farmer. A little way to the north is the church, while the intervening space is largely occupied by a picturesque group of farm buildings, weather-worn and storm-beaten, which, with church and hall, make up a delightful picture of old rural life as it expressed itself in East Anglia.

Lying a few miles south-west of Ipswich, the parish of Little Wenham is very appropriately named. All about it is little. The area is under 1,000 acres, the population consists of threescore souls. The church would not more than hold them, while the manor house has less accommodation than a good-sized cottage of to-day. The effort to establish who first owned and built it has not been successful. Mr. Stephen Jackson, who read a paper on Little Wenham to the members of the Suffolk Institute of Archæology in 1859, said that it was held by the Holbrook family in 1281, and he inferred that one of them had built the hall at that time. Mr. V. B. Redstone, who described the church in 1901, was in favour of a thirteenth century Brewse ownership, and declared that the Brewses "were great church builders," that the "lancet windows and the sedilia fix the date of erection to be 1260–70," and that as, among other remarkably similar features, the east windows of the church and of the hall chapel are identical, we owe both buildings to a Brewse. Now, however, that excellent antiquary, Mr. F. A. Crisp, the present owner of the Hall and lord of the manor, has gone thoroughly into the matter and has very kindly supplied the following note: "It is difficult to say who built or lived in the Hall before the Brewses. The manor belonged to John de Vallibus, or Vaux, who died in 1286, and it descended to Petronilla, his elder daughter and co-heir, who married William de Nerford. It has been stated that her first husband was a de Holbrook, but I believe that Roger de Holbrook was tenant of Little Wenham at the time of the death of John de Vallibus and that the Hall was held by the Holbrooks till it passed to the Debenhams. The first person that can be said with some certainty to have dwelt at Little Wenham is Gilbert de Debenham, who, dying in 1371, desired in his will to be buried in the south wall of the Church of All Saints, in Little Wenham. Elizabeth Debenham, with whom the Hall passed to the Brewses, was probably great-granddaughter of the above Gilbert, but the genealogy of the Debenhams is difficult owing to their possession seemingly of but one Christian name—Gilbert."



104.—PLAN OF WENHAM HALL.

As the marriage of Elizabeth Debenham with Sir Thomas Brewse did not take place until the reign of Henry VI, we must give up the idea that a Brewse built Little Wenham. The only hint that John de Vallibus was its author is conveyed by the dedication of its chapel to St. Petronilla, whose name he gave to his daughter and heiress. For the date of erection we must depend on the architectural details. Here there is substantial agreement between Mr. Redstone and the late Mr. Jackson, who declared that he had "every reason to believe that the Church and Hall were built at the same time and by the same masons." He added that: "The Hall underwent some repairs, but no material alteration at the hands of the Brewses. It remains now comparatively unchanged since its first erection and is, perhaps, the most perfect specimen of a house of the thirteenth century now existing." It was, however, then in some neglect and decay. This increased as the century drew to an end, when it was used as a granary. At that critical moment, however, it was acquired by the late Mr. G. E. Crisp of Playford Hall, who "set to work to stay further dilapidation and to retain all the features and details of the early edifice," as was gladly proclaimed by the Suffolk Institute, who revisited the place in 1901 after satisfactory progress had been made in the work of preservation. This was done with so much restraint that there is no appreciable difference between the careful drawings that accompany the description of the place, published in 1851 by Mr. Hudson Turner, in his volume on Thirteenth Century Domestic Architecture, and the present illustrations which reproduce photographs specially taken in 1914.

105.—THE TOP OF THE TOWER FROM THE MAIN ROOF.

106.—FROM THE SOUTH-EAST.
Showing the original entrance doors to both the undercroft and the hall.

107.—IN THE HALL LOOKING NORTH.

A certain amount of the walling, especially at the base, is composed of courses of flint and of the "local stone, called septaria," to quote Mr. Jackson, or, in the words of a later authority, "the seashore stone of which Orford Castle is built." The bricks are not of the tile shape used by Romans, but of the size and character used mediævally in the Low Countries, so that it has been held that they were imported from Flanders "by way of Ipswich, being a cheaper material than stone which had to be brought by land carriage from a considerable distance." Thus wrote Mr. Jackson in 1859, and the matter is still in dispute. It must be remembered that the same origin has been attributed to the bricks of fifteenth century Tattershall, though it is now established that they were made in Lincolnshire. The making of roofing *tegulæ* or tiles of baked clay went on in England in the thirteenth century and bricks were persistently, if only occasionally, used in East Anglia. Mr. Bilson's careful research into the subject, showing the early distinction between wall tiles and roof tiles, and the manufacture of both in England, certainly in the fourteenth century, is alluded to in the Introduction (page xxxv), and goes far to establish the native origin of the Wenham bricks.

108.—FROM HALL TO CHAPEL.

109.—FROM CHAPEL TO HALL.

The building takes the form of a two-storeyed oblong with a small three-storeyed square on its east side, and at the re-entering angle thus formed there is a little projection containing a newel stair. As this continues upwards to admit of doorways on to the roofs of both portions, the view from the south-east (Fig. 102) presents an appearance not unlike a small church with turreted tower attached. The plan (Fig. 104)—reproduced from Hudson Turner's volume—gives the undercroft, but the original south door into it, then walled up, has been opened out (Fig. 106). The undercroft contains a room 16ft. wide and 36ft. long, having a brick vault with plain chamfered stone ribs set on semi-octagonal shafts. There is no fireplace, although the masonry of the chimney of the room above is carried down to the ground and not supported by a corbel. An arched door leads into a smaller room in the east building, from which the newel stair starts and serves for access to the upper floor. The principal entrance to the large upper room or hall was, however, by an outside door in the south wall. How this was approached is uncertain, for the stairway has, as at Markenfield (Fig. 146), disappeared. But there, as at Aydon (Fig. 116) and Brinsop (Fig. 161), where also the halls have undercrofts, a stone stairway led up to it, leaving access to the undercroft door beneath the landing. Over the stairway there was at Aydon and Markenfield a roof, but no visible signs of such at Brinsop. Disturbance of the original masonry shows that there was some sort of building at this point at Wenham. Mr. Jackson's remark that the staircase " appears to have curved round the S.W. angle towards the doorway " is not very illuminating. Probably the kitchen annex, of which there is now no trace, was connected at this point, at least, by a covered way. The question is complicated by alterations and additions having been made up to the days of Elizabeth, and by subsequent decay and removal. Mr. Crisp says that " when used by the Brewses, and after them by the Thurstons, the present ' castle ' formed only part of the house. The additions (which are first mentioned in a Survey of 1512) were taken down in about the year 1760."

As to the Brewses, not much is known about them and their doings beyond what their tombs in the church record. Sir Thomas, who held it in right of his wife, was not buried there when he died in 1482, but at Woodbridge Priory. He had been Sheriff and Knight of the shire for Suffolk, and was succeeded by his son Robert (as heir to his mother), who was Member of

110.—SOUTH SIDE OF THE CHAPEL.
Showing the piscina and doorway to the newel stair.

Parliament for Dunwich in his father's lifetime. At the meeting of the Suffolk archæologists at Little Wenham in 1901 it was said that he probably "made those alterations of the building which are of the perpendicular style of architecture," and, as he lived until the year after the 1512 survey, which mentions the additions, this is doubtless correct. For one year only was he

outlived by his son Thomas, who, with his wife Joan, is commemorated by a double canopied brass. When he died in 1514 his son John was only two years old, and, as he lived till 1585, he held the manor for seventy-one years. He will have made further alterations. Over the lower west door—called " modern " by Mr. Hudson Turner—is a tablet bearing this inscription, " Cecy fait a laide de Dieu lan de grace 1569 " ; but why the initials that follow this date are " R.B." is a mystery. To the sixteenth century belongs the oak roof of the hall (Fig. 107) and the fireplace will have been reconstructed at the same time. Evidently the house had fallen into disrepair, for much of the upper brickwork, including the moulded terra-cotta of the crenellation copings, will not date earlier than Henry VIII. Mr. Redstone believed this Sir John (who, clad in armour, is seen kneeling in the mural monument (Fig. 112) on the chancel wall) to have been the last of the family to occupy Wenham, for he tells us that : " On the still standing foundation of the rood screen is scratched in Elizabethan Court hand *G.ª Brewse.* He was son of Sir John and his *Vale* 1584 carved upon the portals of the Castle fixes the period when the Brewses quitted this their ancestral home." But Mr. Crisp finds that Sir John had two sons, who one after the other succeeded to

111.—THE CHURCH PORCH.

112.—MONUMENT TO SIR JOHN BREWSE IN THE CHURCH.

Wenham, and that the latter's descendants continued in possession until Charles II's time, when John Brewse sold the manor and estates of Little Wenham. Even then some family connection with the parish continued, and there is a tablet in the church to a Colonel Brewse who died in Ipswich in 1785.

Considering the condition of disrepair evidenced by the sixteenth century renovations, it is fortunate that so much of the earlier detail was, and still remains, in such excellent preservation. The windows are intact. The hall has four of them, each of two lights, with cusped heads, and above them a quatrefoil. The glass is modern ; originally there were shutters only, the staples of which remain. Left of the south window is a recess or niche enriched with carving of the Late Gothic period, but a more interesting feature is the original doorway and openings into the chapel (Fig. 108). It is a charming composition, admirably preserved, even to the oak shutters of the openings. They are on the chapel side (Fig. 109), and the lancets and octagonal shafts are flattened to take them. On the hall side, the octagonal shafts have moulded base and capital, and in the head is a shallow carved quatrefoil. Over the arches are moulded labels which, in the doorway, end in foliated bosses. As the chapel was far more richly treated than the

room, so was the entrance to it to be the most ornate feature of the latter. The chapel has a vaulted roof. Bold, richly moulded ribs rise from the corners and meet in a central boss carved with a figure in the act of blessing within a vesica. The ribs start from simple moulded corbels on the west wall, but there are carved heads to those on the east side, much of which is occupied by a large window of three lights with three quatrefoils above (Fig. 103). The general likeness, but detailed difference, of the windows should be noticed. There was no "standardisation." Certain forms were in vogue, but within their limits each mason had his liberty. Thus, in the large chapel window the mouldings of the heads are carried down the shafts. In the hall windows the mouldings end with the heads, and the shafts take the form of round columns with capitals. The hall apertures into the chapel are similarly treated, except that the columns are of octagonal forms, as also are those of the windows of the room above the chapel. It was by such means that the mediæval designers obtained an arrestingly harmonious totality with joyous and enticing variety of parts. The method held good and is as pleasing in result when applied to a modest little dwelling like Wenham as to the vast area of a great church. The 12ft. square chapel at Wenham is full of detail. The north wall, which does not appear in the illustrations, has, towards the east end, an aumbry with a trefoil head and a bold scroll moulding for a hood terminated by masks. It balances the delightful piscina opposite (Fig. 110), with its return along the splay of the tall lancet window giving it a detached shaft and a double arch. This arrangement, so engaging in effect, was dictated by constructional reasons, for so much of the south side was taken up by the newel stair and its wall that the lancet was pushed eastward, whereas to the north it occupies the centre of the wall, yet leaves space beyond for a little low side window, 2ft. high and 5ins. wide, retaining its original shutter. The room above the chapel, well lit by its three two-light windows, must have been the only chamber in the original house, and, as such, reserved for the owner and his lady. Continuing past its doorway, the stairway next opens on to the nearly flat lead roof of the hall, as is shown in the picture that illustrates the character of the brickwork and moulded copings of the tower and turret.

Whether this tiny "castle," as it is sometimes called, ever had defences, and, if so, what they were is uncertain. The contemporary Aydon, in Northumberland, has both inner and outer baileys, but these were additions made a quarter of a century after the original building was erected. Although such has not been traced, something in the shape of a walled enclosure is likely to have existed at Wenham, which, unlike most early East Anglian houses, can never have stood in a level and continuous moat, owing to its position on the slope of a knoll. We have here, singularly well preserved, the nucleus of a thirteenth century manor house, but not those dependencies and outworks that were its essential complements as ensuring the housing, sustenance and safety of the family and its retainers.

When, in 1901, Mr. Redstone read to the Suffolk Archæologists his paper on Little Wenham Church that edifice was in a sorry state. It had a "falling roof, broken down pews and desecrated chancel, bearing all the signs of neglect." Following upon the meeting, however, money for repair was obtained, and thus church and hall now stand in worthy condition, their close connection in place and style bringing home the lesson of the entire resemblance, in all but requisites for different use, of religious and lay buildings in mediæval times.

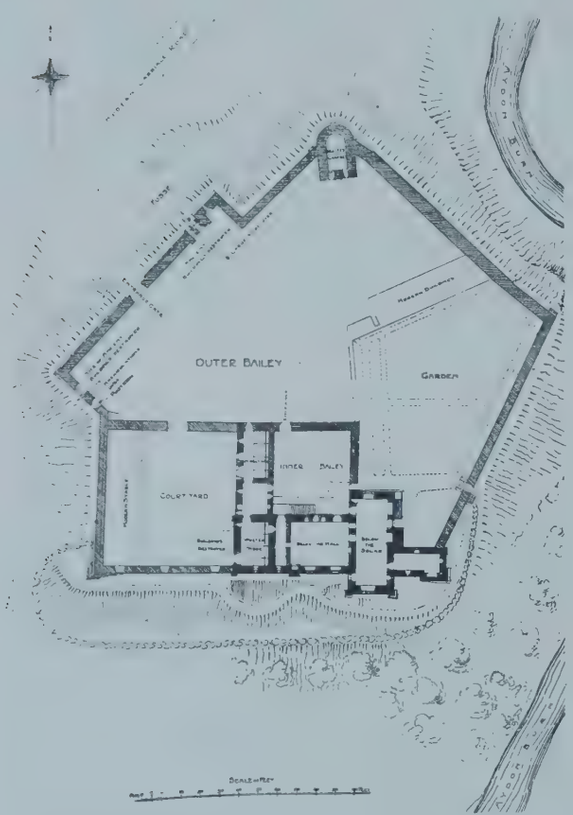
AYDON CASTLE, NORTHUMBERLAND

FROM being a dwelling not very much larger or stronger than we found Wenham (page 92) Aydon soon developed into a well defended mediæval abode, with considerable accommodation and typical military architecture. Thus its original designation of "Halle" gave way to that of "Castle," and as Aydon Castle it continues to be known. The site is as satisfying to modern amenity as to old-time security. Apart from wide and varied views over the broad valley of the Tyne and the wild uplands and fells that bound it, the group of buildings and its immediate environment present a picture of dramatic beauty and romantic seclusion.

A streamlet rising amid the high moorlands on the north side of the great valley near Corbridge has ploughed for itself, before it reaches the Tyne, a furrow so deep as to form a chasm-like chine from whose steep and rocky sides rise, through sheets of wild flowers, tall, straight-stemmed trees, here in serried ranks, there as outpost sentinels. Following not the shortest line, but that of least resistance through the softer formation, the stream has driven its cleft in more than a half circle round a prominent tableland, and it was on the very edge of this—easily approached from the north, but well protected on the other three points of the compass by the precipitous descents—that an inheritor of Emma de Aydon's manor erected the "Halle" a few years after Edward I became King.

113.—WALL OF OUTER BAILEY.
Showing the corbelled-out rubbish shoot.

That reign saw much progress in English lay architecture from both the domestic and military points of view. The King's great castles of Conway and Carnarvon (page 83) were not only planned to hold the Welsh in check by their strength, but to offer right accommodation to the Sovereign and his *entourage* when he happened to abide there. Edward's father, though often and sore troubled with rebellious barons, had found time to develop his strong æsthetic sense and put his principles in practice. He not only wrought largely at Westminster, both at Abbey and Palace, but ordered the repair, enlargement and new building of a quantity of Royal manor houses all about the country, as we have seen from extracts from the Pipe Rolls of his reign (page xxiv). The square keeps of the Norman period were being abandoned as Royal quarters and, either by their side or on new sites, buildings containing larger and freer accommodation for King and Queen were being erected. Their country manors, which from their number and placing were for short and rare visits on Royal progresses, differed little in plan, under both Henry III and Edward I, from that adopted by their well-to-do subjects. While Aydon was building there was rising at Woolmer in Hampshire a house for Edward. A building raised on an undercroft contained a long upper chamber, with two chimneys, and with a small chapel and wardrobes adjacent. Next this was another building occupied by the hall, and beyond it the kitchen. This description, as given in the Royal accounts, answers quite well for Aydon as at first designed, though the subject was satisfied with smaller dimensions than the Sovereign. The upper chamber or solar at Woolmer is given as being 72ft. in length and 28ft. in width ; that at Aydon is 50ft. by 18ft. The sinks and shoots in the wing projecting eastward show that it contained " wardrobes," if not a little chapel also. To the west, at right angles to the line of roof of the solar building, lies the hall, and beyond what was passage and screens is the space occupied by the original kitchen. The peculiarity was that the whole of these rooms were on a level and above an undercroft of good height, a large part of which—as is evident by the presence of two fireplaces—was originally intended for, and is still used as, living-rooms. These, and the extent of the solar, make Aydon, even as first built, decidedly larger than Wenham, though there is kinship in plan and arrangement as well as in architectural detail.



114.—GENERAL PLAN OF THE CASTLE.

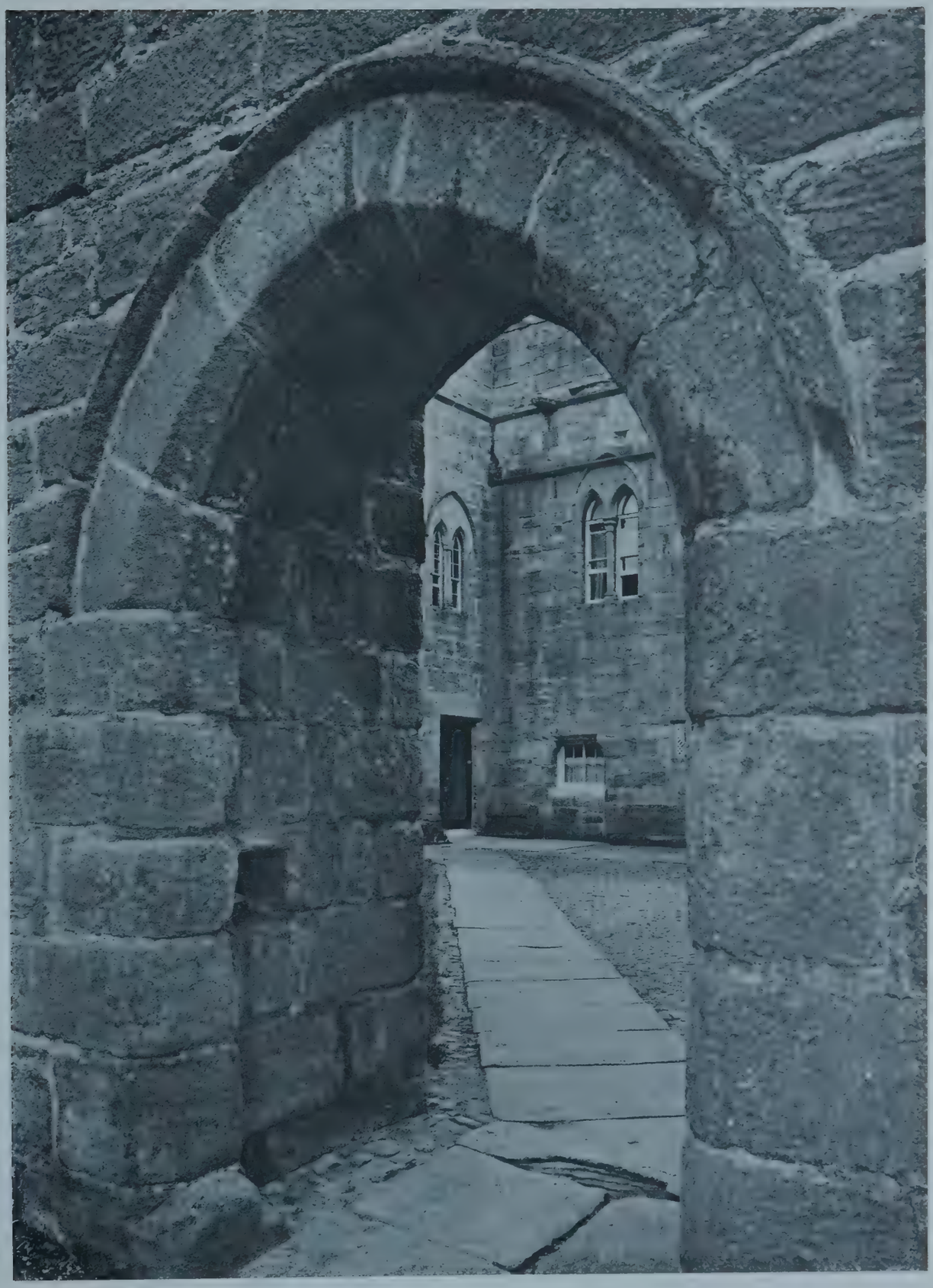
As to who built it and when, there is no documentary record. But the careful research and survey of Mr. W. H. Knowles, the local secretary to the Society of Antiquaries, give us much information and enlightenment. His paper on Aydon, published in the fifty-sixth volume of the " Archæologia," corrects and supplements the earlier account in Hudson Turner's " Domestic Architecture." Hudson Turner attributed the building to Emma de Aydon's second husband, Peter de Vaux ; but, as they were married in King John's time, it will scarcely date before the time of her granddaughter, Margery de Gosbec, and Mr. Knowles even considers that we owe it to Robert de Raymes, who appears to have succeeded her. Lack of documentary evidence, however, does not prevent a date being assigned to the building, for abundant and distinctive architectural details are preserved. Mr. Knowles' plans, herewith reproduced with his kind permission, show that the original portions, as already described, date from around the year 1280. Wenham was little, if any, earlier, and, apart from Northern severity, the details of doors,

115.—THE CASTLE SEEN THROUGH THE ARCH OF THE OUTER BAILEY.

116.—SOUTH-WEST CORNER OF INNER BAILEY.
Showing the stone stairway up to the hall and the line of the destroyed pent roof that covered it.

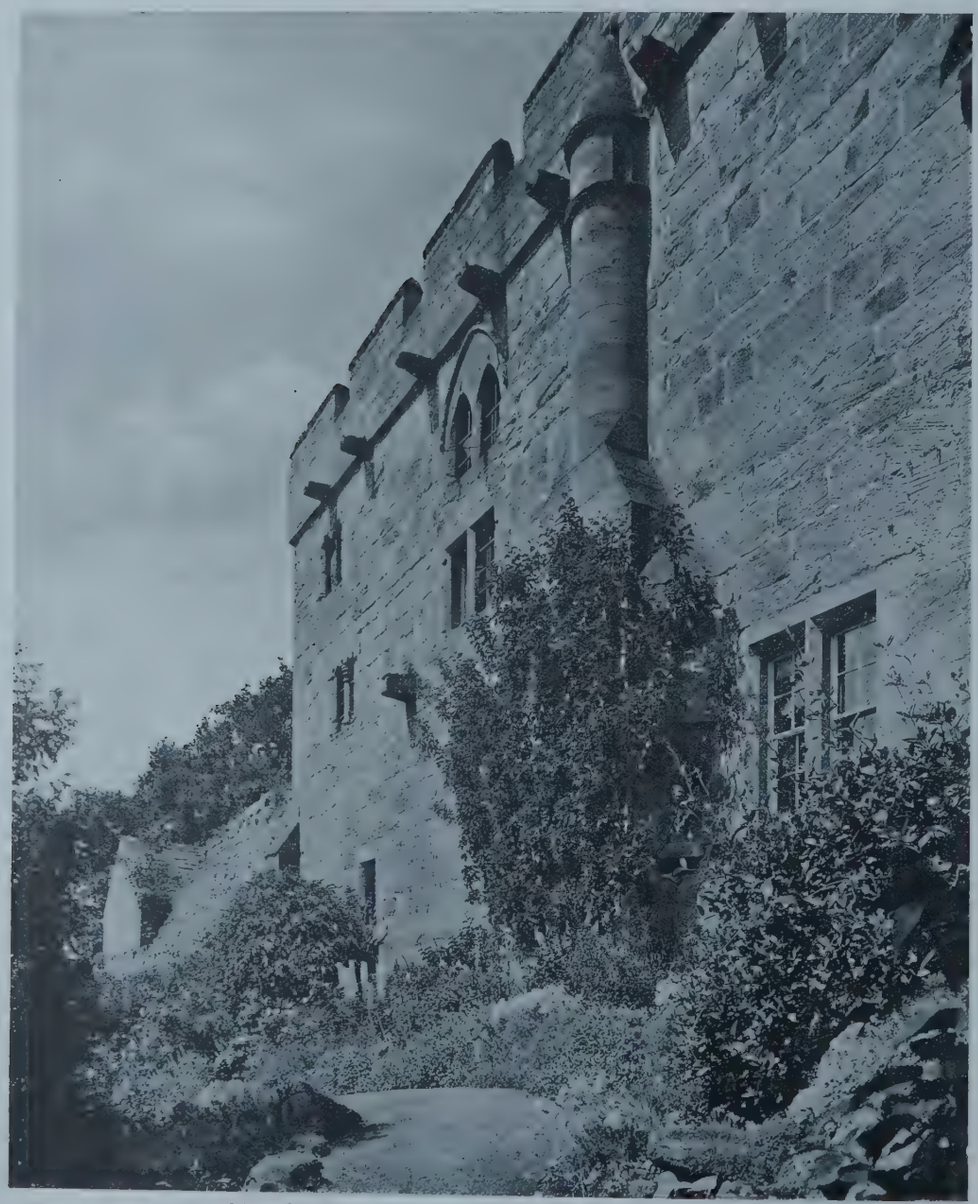
117.—SOUTH-EAST CORNER OF INNER BAILEY.
Showing hall and solar windows.

windows, etc., are exceedingly similar. A quarter of a century after the first building Robert de Raymes obtained licence to crenellate, and added the inner bailey with a single storey building running along the west side. Till then the roof of the house may have had overhanging eaves in the manner of an undefended dwelling. Where battlements are original it is usual to have a fairly wide way between parapet and roof. But at Aydon there is a mere gutter connected with a row of projecting stone spouts (Fig. 125). Twice again, at very short intervals, during the early part of the fourteenth century were further additions made, as Mr. Knowles has proved by his careful survey of the whole structure. The wing forming the west side of the inner bailey (Fig. 115) was raised and a new kitchen established over the undercroft. A large outer bailey, its curious shape dictated by the lie of the ground, was added. Its salient north angle was protected by a semicircular tower, which commanded the curtain walls, where they had merely a fosse to strengthen them. Another building lay near this tower, and from it a large,



118.—ENTRANCE ARCH TO THE INNER BAILEY.

119.—FROM THE GARDEN.
Showing the solar building and the embattled wall of the inner bailey.



120.—WEST END OF THE SOUTH ELEVATION.
Showing the upper and lower windows of the screens.

121.—THE SOUTH BATTLEMENTS.

Showing the conical head of the semicircular chimney-shaft

elaborately contrived rubbish shoot slopes through the wall, a portion of which is thickened and supported by corbels to take the shoot (Fig. 113). The inner bailey on the sides where there are no buildings is enclosed by a lofty wall (Fig. 119) of thickness sufficient to admit of an upper walk protected by "an embattled chamfered parapet, the embrasures of which are holed for swinging shutters," as Mr. Knowles tells us. Its pointed doorway with hood moulding is the subject of a delightful picture (Fig. 118), which shows the hole—running 7ft. into the wall—into which slid the massive oak protecting bar. Opposite are the steps leading up to the hall door (Fig. 116), the landing having a corbelled-out parapet, and parallel with the steps is seen, in the masonry of the wall, the line of the pent roof which once sheltered the hall approach. Traces of a similar arrangement at Stokesay (page 142) and Markenfield (Fig. 146) survive. The hall doorway is of the same type as that of the inner bailey; but it dates twenty-five years earlier, and the duplication of the chamfered order gives it greater presence. The interior of the hall and kitchen building was somewhat altered in the seventeenth century and has long ceased to be used for domestic purposes. Originally the doorway led to the screens, the south-end having, not a doorway—since it is on an upper floor—but a low, square-headed window under the gallery and a pointed one above (Fig. 120). To the right was the old kitchen, and here the square-headed superposed windows suggest two floors either originally, or, more probably, dating from the fourteenth century, when a new kitchen was added to the north. The drain from the old kitchen is complete, a square sink within, projecting slightly from the wall-face, continuing as a splayed hollow through the wall and ending in a spout beyond it. The number of these upstairs drains and shoots at Aydon prove that in the thirteenth century arrangements for washing and for the easy disposal of waste water were understood and appreciated.

122.—EAST END OF THE SOUTH ELEVATION.

123.—FIREPLACE IN THE PRESENT KITCHEN.

East of the screens lay the hall, 25ft. wide and 31ft. long. The walls were 16ft. high and ended with a chamfered stone cornice, above which rose the roof. The present roof is perfectly plain, but, though old, is certainly not of the thirteenth century. Besides the window of the

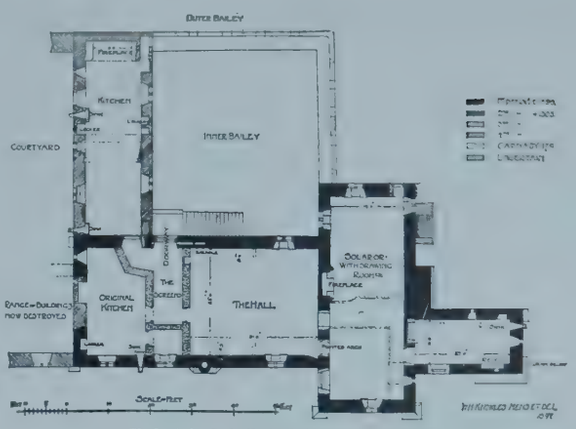


Fig. 7. Aydon Castle, Northumberland. Plan of upper floor.

124.—PLAN OF UPPER FLOOR.

gallery above the screens, the hall is lit by a couple of two-light windows north and south (Fig. 122) of the east end. Though comparable with those at Wenham, the Aydon windows are much plainer. None has more than two lights, there is no cusping and no quatrefoil piercings. There is the same central shaft, but that supports a solid head wrought out of one great stone. Only in two of the windows of the solar do these heads show any detail. One to the east has a sunk quatrefoil, while that to the north has within such quatrefoil a bearded head (Fig. 126). The crispness and perfect condition of this example of exterior carving which the Aydon mason allowed himself prove the durability of the material he used. The stone is an ashlar, very roughly wrought, except for such dressed work as the windows. It is now of admirable tone and texture, and a solid dignity is given by the large manner of its use. As already stated, the window heads are all of one piece, while one of the doorways has a square-shouldered head, of which the top stone is 2ft. deep and over 5ft. long. The holes of the iron gratings, once set outside the original windows, are very apparent. The windows were not glazed, but had wood shutters, as at Wenham, and the bases of their wide interior splays were fitted with stone seats. The solar

125.—ON THE ROOF.

was certainly divided by a partition, and the northern part may have been a chapel, or this may have projected eastward at the north end, where there are signs of alteration. That the surviving building to the east did not contain a chapel, as was supposed, but extensive wash-places and garderobes, has been amply proved by Mr. Knowles. Both floors of the solar building, as well as part of the hall undercroft, are now fitted as a farmhouse. Sash windows and other modern alterations and accretions obscure the original arrangement and detail, but three hooded fireplaces remain intact. The largest was in the solar. Its receding hood is supported by filleted shafts and moulded capitals resembling those of the windows. In the undercroft, the room now used as a kitchen has a fireplace (Fig. 123) with a very slightly projecting hood supporting a big moulded cornice, of which the cavetto is enriched by a row of heads and a central tooth ornament. Somewhat similar is the fireplace in the hall undercroft, but it has a side corbel to carry a light. It is the flue of this fireplace that forms the most delightful and exceptional feature that Aydon possesses. The exterior breast, square at base, first narrows and then changes into a semicircular shaft. The upper section of this, between the mouldings of a string-course and of a conical head, has tall, narrow apertures for the emission of the smoke (Fig. 121). The height is such that, if the roof had, at first, overhanging eaves, the conical top rose just above the eave. But certainly since 1305 the top, like the shaft, is semicircular, and its carved finial is below the embattling of the parapet. Although this most original and engaging chimney flue runs up the south wall of the hall, it did not serve that room, but only the undercroft. The system of a central hearth beneath a roof louvre obtained so strongly for mediæval halls that even when the hall was above ground and flues were handy they were ignored.

126.—DETAIL OF SOLAR WINDOW.

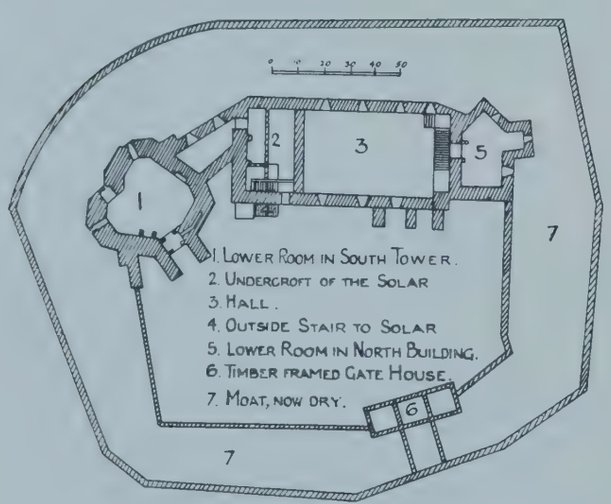
In the hands of the Raymes family Aydon remained until the middle of the seventeenth century. Then it passed to Sir William Carnaby of Halton Castle, near by. He made a few slight alterations, and the initials "W.C.," with the date 1653 on the lintel of the plain doorway into the chamber undercroft, are a reminiscence of him. But, unless he then obtained pardon from the newly created Lord Protector Cromwell, he cannot have been personally present at that date. Elected to the Long Parliament by the borough of Morpeth, he was "disabled to sit" in 1642 for having raised arms on the King's behalf, and he sought safety abroad. Early in the next century the Carnaby ownership ended, and before long an heiress brought it to Sir Edward Blackett, from whom it has descended to the present baronet, Sir Edward W. Blackett. Becoming a farmhouse, it has for a long period continued in the same occupancy. Its use and adaptation as a farmhouse and buildings have not, to any very great extent, diminished its architectural value as a typical Gothic house, and this is realised by the tenant, who takes a strong interest in this remarkable survival of a far-off time. The warm grey walls, rising sheer from the narrow flower-bordered path that runs along their southern base, combine with the rocky and leafy chine to make a picture as precious to the lover of natural beauty as to the learned antiquary.

STOKESAY CASTLE, SHROPSHIRE

LIKE Wenham (page 92), Stokesay vividly calls up the past, because it is unoccupied and has thus escaped the serious changes and additions that would be inevitable if it had to be adapted for modern inhabitance. It retains its Gothic features to a remarkable degree, and its environment is perfectly sympathetic. Once we step away from the mushroom town of red brick and blue slate which has risen around the railway junction of Craven Arms, we come upon a very untouched bit of rural England, where the old fortified manor house sits amid placid meadows that are themselves encircled by an amphitheatre of steep wooded hills. Church and dwelling (Fig. 127) are of the past and truly look of the past, for the former as well as the latter have escaped that form of restoration which transforms authentic old buildings into imitative new ones ; yet both have been carefully repaired and preserved from ruin and decay. But, though all is of long ago, the Castle, as it has come to be called, shows work of very different moments of the past, so that we can trace here not only the evolution of Gothic, but the transition from the mediæval to the Renaissance styles. Moreover, each portion of work is linked with a different ownership, and this is why the family history and the architectural characteristics of the place are closely interwoven and inseparably connected. Here we can really begin with that Picot de Sai whose French place-name was to be transferred to one of our English Stokes a generation or two after he had helped at Senlac to make his Norman duke King of England. Of this South Shropshire Stoke, the only recorded inhabitants, when that

127.—THE CHURCH AND CASTLE FROM THE SOUTH-WEST.

monarch ordered his new realm to be surveyed, were a miller and a keeper of bees. The manor was part of the great possessions which fell to the share of the Lacys after the Conquest, and of which the local centre was Ludlow. That town lies six miles south of Stoke, and there the shell of a round Norman chapel still stands in the castle ward to tell of the early importance of both town and fortress as outposts of commerce and defence on the marches of Wales. It was under the lordship of the Lacys that Picot's descendants held Stoke at least as early as Henry I's reign, and five of them are mentioned in connection with the manor which received their name and was in all likelihood the place of their residence. At the north end of the Castle (Fig. 136) there is an upper storey of timber-framing corbelled out from and overhanging the massive masonry of the stone sub-structure. The timbered portion is of the sixteenth or seventeenth century, but the sub-structure shows evidence of being even earlier than the thirteenth century hall which abuts on its south side. It forms no part of the design which included the hall: the string-course which surrounds the other sections of the building stops short of it. Its masonry is of a ruder kind, it is connected with the hall on the west side by some walling of later date and the levels of its floors do not correspond with those of the hall. It is fair to conjecture, therefore, that we have here a portion of the original dwelling of the de Says, to which an ampler and better-lit top storey was added in more peaceful times. In 1240 the male line of de Lacys ended and a co-heiress carried the overlordship of Stokesay to her husband, John de Verdon. Hugh de Say was then feoffee of Stokesay, but he soon after parted with his English property and went to Ireland. John de Verdon thereupon probably came into occupation and built the hall, although the evidence of this is not more than circumstantial, as we shall see. He died in 1274, and his son soon after conveyed the "Vill of Stokesay" to Lawrence de Ludlow, who was certainly in possession in 1281. Ludlow was then quite an important business centre, and its merchants were prosperous men ready to invest their savings in real estate. As we find it recorded that this Lawrence got into trouble with the burgesses of his native town for selling cloth contrary to the assize, we may certainly set him down as a man who had made his way by commerce, but wished to pose as a landed man with a semi-military position on the Welsh border. When his ownership of Stokesay was thoroughly established he applied for and received from Edward I licence to crenellate the house. We must, therefore, suppose that up to the year 1291, when this leave to fortify was given, Stokesay, although it assuredly must have had the moat 22ft. wide, of which the banks and hollow yet remain, was not a place of any strength, and, therefore, the massive embattled south tower (Fig. 134) must be subsequent to that date, and, indeed, be the immediate result of Lawrence's newly acquired right to fortify. The question is, did he also build the hall, or did he find it and the solar south of it already there when he acquired the property? That the house was of some importance before 1291 is evident from the fact that in the previous year it had been one of the resting places of Bishop Swinfield, then on progress through his diocese with a great retinue. His chaplain's accounts show that he lay at "Stoke de Say" on April 27th, and that he there consumed three shillingsworth of bread, two calves, two pigs, three kids and fifteen head of poultry, part of which were purchased, and part presented. Moreover, the architectural evidence is, on the whole, in favour of the hall having been built before Edward I came to the throne. Two years after that event, that is, in 1274, he appointed Robert Burnell his Chancellor. Burnell was a great builder, and when, some years later, he became Bishop of Wells he built the magnificent hall which lies there in ruins. But he was a Shropshire man, and on his estate some miles north of Stokesay he erected a fortified manor



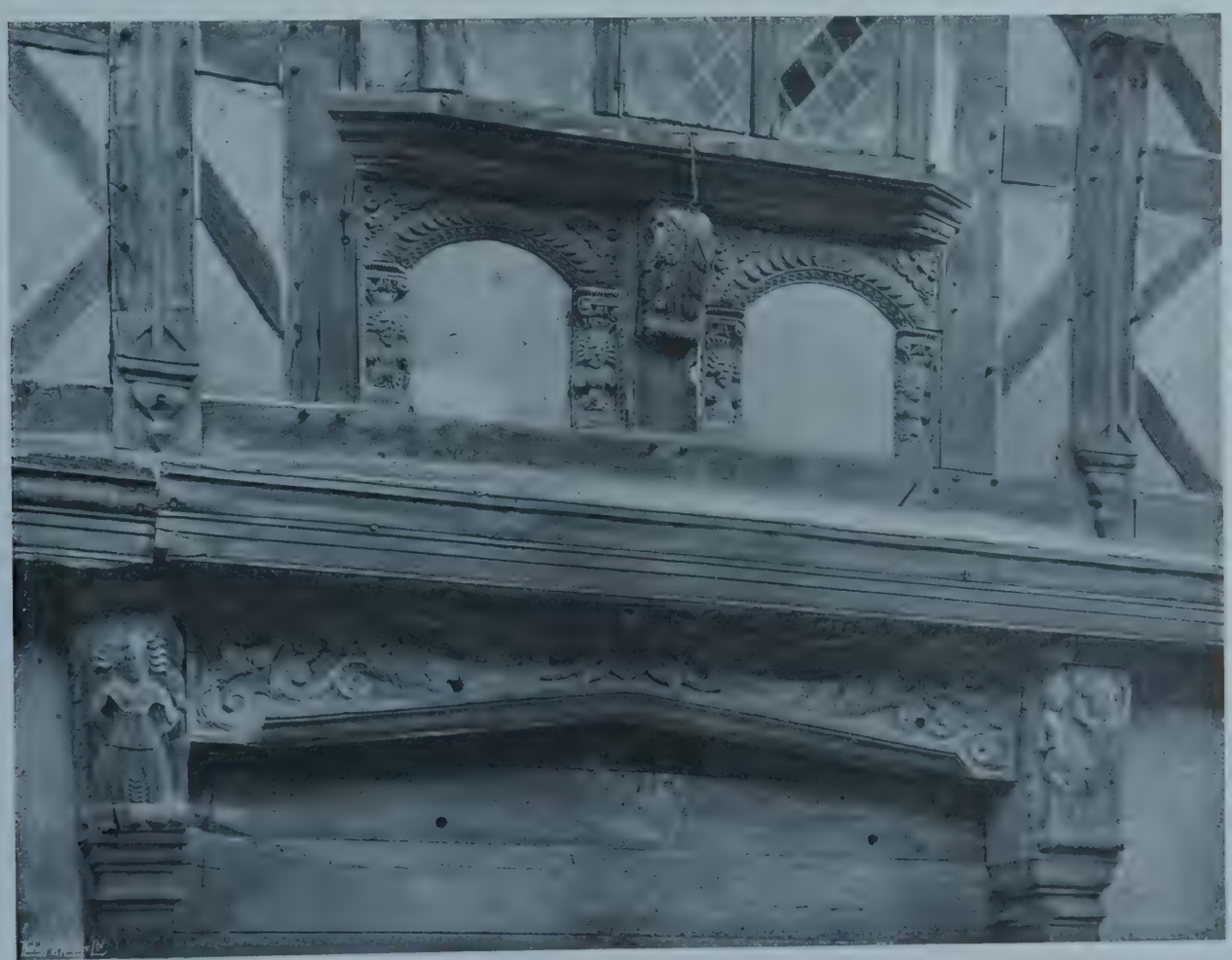
128.—PLAN OF STOKESAY CASTLE.

129.—FROM THE CHURCHYARD.

130.—THE EAST SIDE OF THE GATE-HOUSE.

house on a greater scale than that of his humbler neighbour. His licence to crenellate is dated seven years earlier than that of Lawrence de Ludlow, yet the style of Acton Burnell is certainly later than that of Stokesay. The Stokesay hall windows have their arched heads of solid plate tracery pierced with a plain circle (Fig. 142). The transomed lights below are cusped in an early manner. But in the well preserved ruins of Acton Burnell we find similar two-light, transomed hall windows with tracery not merely more elaborate, but of a distinctly later date. Had the Stokesay hall been built after that at Acton Burnell, even a local designer would have wished to follow the new fashions set up by the cosmopolitan Chancellor in the near neighbourhood. Therefore, the more primitive character of the Stokesay work leads to the strong presumption

that John de Verdon largely rebuilt the earlier home of the de Says, and that Lawrence de Ludlow afterwards added the south tower, and, no doubt, strengthened the curtain wall of the court and the drawbridge which admitted to it from the east. That curtain wall is gone, and the ancient entrance was replaced in the sixteenth century by the present timber gate-house (Fig. 130). But, though the remains of the de Say building are somewhat fragmentary, the de Verdon hall and the de Ludlow tower are among the best preserved examples of our thirteenth century domestic work. The hall faces the visitor as he passes through the gate-house. Its noble stretch of stone-slated roof is broken by four gables, three of which have below them windows of the type already described, while a great arched doorway, hidden in the illustration by the bushes, occupies the lower part of the fourth or northern one. Above the doorway is now a stretch of plain walling, because a window corresponding with the others, but stopping short at the transom, has been blocked up. Entering the doorway (Fig. 139), we find ourselves in a great room more than fifty feet long and thirty feet wide, rising up thirty-four feet to its roof-tree (Fig. 138). In the centre of the floor is an octagonal pavement whereon blazed the great log fire, contained, no doubt, by a reredos or brazier, but sending its smoke aloft to the roof beams, which it has blackened. Chimneys were still scarce in halls after they were customary in chambers, and there are fifteenth century examples with the same primitive arrangement as at thirteenth century Stokesay and fourteenth century Penshurst (page 181). A louvre, however, was generally provided in the roof for the escape of the smoke, and, no doubt, existed at Stokesay, although no trace of such a feature remains. The windows to the west, overhanging the moat, correspond with those on the east, except that the one at the south end has lost its tracery, while the short one at the north end is perfect and not blocked up. The recesses of all the transomed windows descend nearly to the ground, and are fitted with seats in the thickness of the wall. Between the windows, and not more than seven feet from the floor, stone corbels



131.—CARVED DETAILS ON THE WEST SIDE OF THE GATE-HOUSE.

of early English type are let into the wall. From them rise masonry pilasters on which rest the great principals of the roof. Into these are let curved braces, and as the collar beam is also slightly curved in the space between the braces, a semicircular appearance is given to the lower section of the roof. There is also a set of upper collar beams, but no tie beams or king-posts, for the walls are rather low for the width of the hall, and any transverse beams lower than the collar would have deprived the general appearance of all dignity. That the construction was, nevertheless, on a thoroughly sound system is evident, since it has lasted till to-day with very little give. The strength of the walls proved sufficient to withstand the thrust of the great mass of oak, for only at the centre and one end of the east side was it afterwards found necessary to add buttresses. A staircase of solid oak baulks, cut through diagonally, rises from the north-west corner of the hall, its flights and landings being arranged to serve the odd levels of the rooms of the old north building. The top landing, strutted out from the wall on beams, admits to the upper room, which, although its outer timber-framed and many-windowed walls are of later date, yet has in the old inner wall which partitions it from the hall an Early English fireplace with side pillars and brackets supporting the wooden framework of a hood (Fig. 137). The hood, probably of plaster, like several mentioned in the Henry III Pipe Rolls, has disappeared. By the side of the fireplace an arched recess or aumbry appears in the picture. The rooms underneath, one of which descends below the hall level and has a well in a little northern projection, will have been offices. They were, however, if not originally, at least later on found insufficient, and were connected with a range of buildings, containing kitchen and buttery, erected against their east wall. This annexe was timber-framed, of an early type, and was still standing less than a century ago. At that time other timber buildings, more or less in ruins, likewise existed in various parts of the courtyard. The solar or withdrawing-room was at the south end of the hall, and was, as usual, raised up on an undercroft. There was no communication between it and the hall, but it was approached by an exterior flight of stone steps (tailpiece, page 124), which was, however, originally covered by a pent

132.—THE NORTH END OF THE GATE-HOUSE.

133.—THE GRASS-GROWN MOAT.

roof. There are two indications of this, the one a ledge projecting from the wall, on which its timbers rested, the other the inclination of the window-sill to correspond to the angle of the roof. The windows have the same tracery as those of the hall, showing that it was part and parcel of the same plan. Between this building and the south tower was a gap filled in with a narrow room running along the line of the curtain wall. But the way into the south tower is not through this room, but along a set of planks, no doubt representing a former drawbridge, starting from the landing at the top of the solar steps. The tower itself is very peculiarly shaped. It has been described as "formed, as it were, by two octagonal towers placed side by side." This form, which gave somewhat the appearance of a double bay on the south side rising out of the moat, enabled a more general view to be obtained through the narrow lancet windows as to what was going on outside. The re-entering angle, however, would have been a source of weakness had the castle been exposed to a mediæval siege and to the discharge of missiles from mangonels, catapults and other such engines of offence. Stokesay was never intended as a regular fortress, but as a house that could withstand the attacks of the half-armed bands which were apt to maraud along the strip of country which divided England from Wales. We must remember that, though Edward I conquered Wales and started the building of Carnarvon Castle (page 83) nine years before he granted to Lawrence de Ludlow licence to crenellate, yet incursions and disturbances were frequent, and a form of martial law continued until the time of the Tudors. Stokesay, however, played no recorded part in the defence of this borderland from the time when John de Verdon was ordered to reside on his estate to check incursions of the Welsh down to the moment when Charles I and his Parliament were at war with each other. Ten generations of de Ludlows held Stokesay peacefully, and then an heiress brought it to a cadet of the Vernons of Haddon Hall in Derbyshire, who was in occupation when Leland, intent upon topographical business, visited the district during Henry VIII's reign. After Thomas Vernon's son's death in 1570 the estate was conveyed to the Mainwarings, from whom it was purchased half a century later by the rich London alderman's son who became Earl of Craven, and earned fame as the champion of Elizabeth of Bohemia. To him, no doubt, the Stokesay estate was a small investment for part of the great commercial fortune which his father had left him, and the place was let (on

134.—THE DOUBLE OCTAGON SOUTH TOWER.

135.—ROOM IN THE SOUTH TOWER.

136.—THE NORTH TOWER FROM THE WEST.

137.—THE UPPER ROOM IN THE NORTH TOWER.

a lease of such length that it has only recently expired) to the Baldwyns of Elsick, which is a neighbouring manor. The question arises, by which of these successive families was the later work at Stokesay done? The gate-house is one of the most delicious of the many interesting timber-framed buildings which still survive in the Ludlow neighbourhood, but it is a little difficult to name its date with any exactness. The general form of the oak framing and the character of the carved details retain much of the Gothic spirit, and it may well have been erected about the time when the estate passed from Vernons to Mainwarings. The carvings, though entertainingly racy, have the coarseness of purely local work, and local craftsmen, following on from father to son, were a conservative race, and continued to use ancient forms long after the go-ahead townsmen had cast them aside. The archway is flanked by fluted pilasters surmounted by brackets that display Adam and Eve with the Serpent and the forbidden fruit. The great cross-beam is slightly arched and is also richly carved, while a wealth of ornament frames the window above and decorates the bargeboard of the gable. Passing through the great door composed of a double set of oak planks clamped together with iron nails and pierced with small holes, apparently to take the muzzle of a gun, we find the inner side of the gate-house almost a replica of the outside, the work around the bayed-out window being very delightful (Fig. 131). The figures and other carved motifs are much varied, and the same inventiveness and dislike for repetition on the part of the artist are displayed on the four massive corbels which support the corners of the overhanging first floor. The

138.—IN THE HALL.

The stairway is seen ascending to the room in the North Tower.

monstrous dragon that forms one of the subjects may readily be discerned in the picture of the north end of the building (Fig. 132). It is, however, not only the original design, but also the present condition of the building, that fascinates. The effects of time and weather are nowhere obliterated, and both colour and texture are admirable. The oak has not been blacked or browned or oiled or otherwise ill treated, but has been allowed to take a most delicious silvery grey tone in full sympathy with the worn plaster of its panels and the lichened stone-tiling of its roof. The Stokesay gate-house is a model of how a timber-framed building should be designed, erected and maintained.

If it is difficult to decide to whom we owe this invaluable little structure, it is equally hard

139.—THE NORTH-EAST CORNER OF THE HALL.
Showing the entrance door and the blocked up window above it.

140.—IN THE SOLAR.

to assign the authorship of the Renaissance wainscoting and mantelpiece that were introduced into the solar without interference with its Gothic windows and the peepholes down into the hall (Fig. 140). The caryatides on the chimneypiece (Fig. 141), bearing baskets of fruit on their heads, are of a design, Flemish in origin, that appears on the screen of the Charterhouse hall, and this screen bears, on a strapwork frieze not unlike that of the Stokesay chimneypiece, the initials of Thomas Duke of Norfolk, who fitted the hall in 1571; so that if the Stokesay mantelpiece belongs to the same period, as it does to the same decorative school, both it and the gate-house may have been erected together in the early years of the Mainwaring occupation. The square panels, with their elaborate strapwork cartouches, are thoroughly Flemish in feeling, and, though traces of Italian influence linger about the filling of the narrow arched panels, the whole scheme was, no doubt, adapted by an English craftsman from one of the Flemish books of design that constituted the

141.—DETAIL OF THE OVERMANTEL IN THE SOLAR.

art-Bible of England until Inigo Jones introduced a purer and more learned style. Thus, such work as the Stokesay mantelpiece went on, especially in the provinces, until Charles I was King, and so the tradition that the solar was refitted by Charles Baldwyn or his son, Sir Samuel, may be correct. This Sir Samuel undoubtedly resided at Stokesay when he was not in London, his legal connection with which is implied by his having been buried in the Temple Church, where his monument describes him as of " Stoke Castle." He seems to have been a student and an antiquarian and, what was exceedingly rare in his time, to have liked to retain old-fashioned forms in his dwelling. He kept the central hearth and the shuttered but unglazed windows of his mediæval hall, and if his solar was refitted more in the mode of his day, it still retained its exterior approach. Partly, then, to Sir Samuel and his architectural conservatism, and partly to a Royalist captain possessing more discretion than valour we owe the very exceptional preservation of Stokesay's ancient features. In 1645 it was held for the King, but a party of Parliamentarians came up, and one of them tells us : " The place was considerable, therefore the next morning wee drew up to it, and summoned it, but the governor, Capt. Dawrett, refused, whereupon we prepared for a storm, and being ready to fall on, we gave a second summons which was hearkened unto, a party admitted, and it is now garrisoned for us." Thus Stokesay escaped destruction, and even the usual order made by the Commonwealth that this castle should be " slighted " must have been very mildly carried out. The eastern curtain wall was, no doubt, breached or removed, and it was very likely then that the battlemented top of the northern building was thrown down. If so, it will have been Sir Samuel Baldwyn (he lived on till 1683) who replaced the lost portion with the present timber-framed structure. It is hardly of the style that we should expect in the second half of the seventeenth

142.—EAST ELEVATION OF THE HALL BUILDING.
The steps up to the solar appear on the left.

century ; but Sir Samuel may have had the same old-fashioned ideas in the matter of adding to, as of maintaining, his mediæval abode. His views must have been shared by his successors for, despite its primitive disposition, Stokesay long remained a place of inhabitance, and a manuscript of 1730 speaks of the portraits of the Stuarts that hung on its walls. The time came, however, when it lay derelict, a mere outbuilding to a neighbouring farm. But that active Shropshire archæologist, the late Mrs. Stackhouse Acton, worked to counteract the ruin that impended. She had already induced the then Lord Craven to allow some necessary repairs to be carried out, when the whole estate passed into other and sympathetic hands, and her anxiety for the safety of the fabric was at once set at rest. Mr. J. D. Allcroft housed himself anew on another site and decided that the Castle should be left empty but kept safe and sound as a historic monument. It was about 1875 that he saw to the roofs and general structure, replacing where decay was rampant, but, wherever possible, leaving the original materials untouched, even in respect of their surfaces. Thirty years later his son continued the good work under the advice of the Society for the Preservation of Ancient Buildings. Thus, care has been taken that the group of buildings, which, beyond almost any other in the land, combines architectural interest with picturesque charm, should continue, carefully maintained but not " restored," to teach its vivid lesson of the past, and to afford a positive sensation of astonished delight to the sympathetic visitor who sees it for the first time.

IN THE COURTYARD.

Showing the steps to the solar and the line of its destroyed roof.

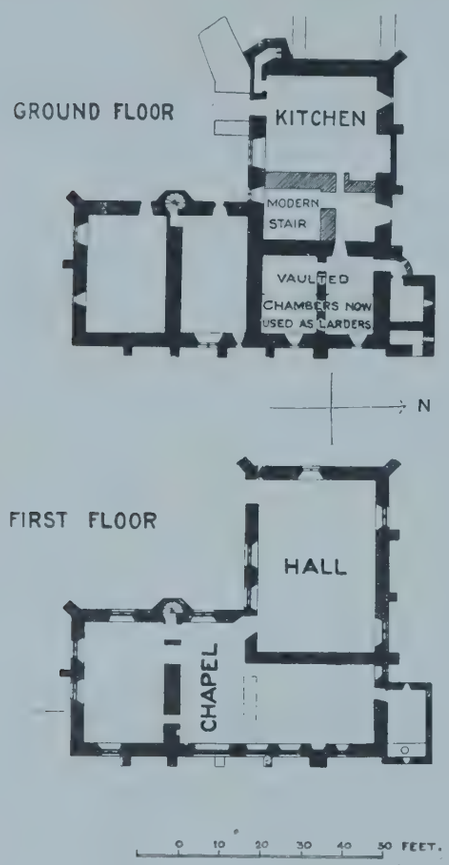
MARKENFIELD HALL, YORKSHIRE

THE owner of Markenfield Hall obtained his licence to crenellate at the time when Carnarvon Castle was nearing completion. We have seen (page 88) that the last part of that Castle to be undertaken was the hall over the "King's Gate," and if we compare its windows (Fig. 92) with those of the hall at Markenfield we shall find them exactly alike in detail and proportion.

Markenfield is one of the best remaining instances of a delightful class of domicile numerous in their day, but of which few indeed remain in anything approaching their original state. Most of them are entirely swept away. Others show sparse fourteenth century fragments peeping out furtively at unimportant points of later additions. Four centuries of succeeding generations have been busily adapting their homes to the fashions and requirements of their own time, and the wonder is not that such a house as Markenfield has been modified, but that so much of the work of the original builder survives. So that it takes an important place in the group we are now describing—late thirteenth and fourteenth century manor houses, walled or moated round, indeed, but wide windowed. On that account it has great antiquarian value; but it is also æsthetically delightful in its ample presentment of a picturesque accretion of buildings. Fifteenth as well as fourteenth century features are present, while just across the stone bridge that has replaced the old drawbridge stands an Elizabethan gate-house (Fig. 145), admitting to a

143.—THROUGH THE OUTER FARMERY TO THE GATE-HOUSE.

great quadrangle encompassed by a broad and placid moat and composed of ranges of outbuildings, part Gothic and part Jacobean, that stretch forth as outliers to the main block, which forms a tall L-shaped building at the north-east corner of the court. But before the moat and gate-house are reached the visitor passes through a vast outer farmery (Fig. 143), of which some of the buildings may not be of great age, but all are of happy form, while the grey tones of the weathered stone of which both walls and roofs are composed combine to make the whole group harmonious, for there are no additions of a kind that would give a touch of modernity foreign to the spirit of this old-world, wide-spreading homestead. Such history as it possesses is essentially local, being connected with the family that derived its surname from the acres that it owned, that took part in the business and pleasures of its vicinage, and that only at rare intervals made a momentary appearance on the national stage.



144.—PLANS.

Markenfield lies two or three miles south of Ripon, and it was in Ripon Minster that its lords were entombed. The Elizabethan Visitation of Yorkshire starts the family pedigree with one Roger Markenfield who lived under Henry I, while sixth in descent from him comes a Sir John Markenfield who, we are told, married a "daughter of Mynyot," and was buried at Ripon. It was the Chantry of St. Andrews in the aisle of the north transept that was the family burial-place, and here there yet stands a fine altar tomb whereon a knight in plate armour—showing the bend with three bezants of Markenfield on breast and sword hilt—lies with his wife at his side. Below them, round the tomb, are fifteen shields commemorating the alliances of the house, among them being Markenfield empaling Miniot. The lady, then, must have been an heiress, a circumstance which may have had something to do with the building of so ample and well wrought a structure as the old hall. We find that it was John Markenfield who obtained licence to crenellate his home in the disturbed days of Edward II. The licence is dated 1310, which was the year when, from hatred of Piers Gaveston, many barons refused to meet the King in the Parliament which he had summoned at York. The building, however, is for the most part generally attributed to his son, Sir Thomas, as to whom the pedigree informs us that he married "Beatryce, doughter of—Sowtell," and adds that he was "beryed at Rypon," so that it seems rather uncertain whether the tomb in the chantry commemorates him or his father. That well known local antiquarian the late Mr. J. R. Walbran attributed it to the younger man, declared that he it was who erected the hall in Edward III's time, and suggested that he might have employed "the company of builders who had just then completed the additions to the choir of Ripon Minster, as a great similarity may be observed in the mouldings, pyramidal turrets and other parts." That his great-grandson, another Sir Thomas, is commemorated by another tomb—which also originally stood in the chantry, but has been removed—is quite certain, for the inscription on it informs us that he lay beneath it, having been seneschal of Ripon, and dying in 1497. His wife, says the pedigree, was "Elenor, doughter of Sir John Conyers, Knight of the Garter." No doubt, like his wife's father and brother, Sir Thomas was a partisan of the House of Lancaster; but there is no record of his having, like them, either suffered or profited from the civil broils of the time. The elder Sir John Conyers was, in all likelihood, the "Robin of Redesdale" who headed the 1469 insurrection against Edward IV. Certainly he and his son were among the insurgents, and the younger Sir John lost his life. But the elder afterwards made his peace with the triumphant Yorkists and lived on to see Henry VII on the throne, to become a knight of his body, to receive the Garter, and to die in peace and favour in 1590. His daughter Elenor's son likewise prospered under

145.—THE GATE-HOUSE ACROSS THE MOAT.

146.—THE SOUTH SIDE WITHIN THE QUADRANGLE.
Showing the great windows of the hall and the weather moulding of the roof that covered the stairway, now removed.

the Tudors, for the Ballad of Flodden Field, reciting the Yorkshire array that followed Henry Clifford, Lord of Skipton and leader of the van, tells us :

Next went Sir Nynyan Markenfyl
In armor cote of cunynge work.

A score of years later John Leland notes down as he passes by that " Markenfelde dwellith at Markenfelde, and his manor place berithe his name." He also notices, as we have done, in Ripon Minster " two tombes withe ymages of the Markenfelds and theyr wyves."

But after Sir Ninian's time trouble came upon the family. His son and grandson were connected by marriage with such local families as the Askes and Nortons, who inclined to the old order of things and took a prominent part first in the Pilgrimage of Grace and afterwards in the Earl of Northumberland's rising of 1569. The pedigree informs us that Thomas Markenfield was attainted in 1537, which was the year when Robert Aske and the other leaders of the Pilgrimage of Grace were seized and executed. This, however, does not seem to be the final severance between the family and its old home, for Mr. Walbran speaks of a younger Thomas Markenfield who took part in the rising of the North in 1569, and who fled to the Continent when it failed and when the estates were confiscated. They were afterwards granted to a great and successful lawyer, Lord Chancellor Egerton, in whose time, no doubt, the Elizabethan and Jacobean modifications that we notice in the structure were effected. Again, and for the last time, Markenfield changed hands when another lawyer added it to his inherited acres at Grantley near by. Fletcher Norton was descended from the connection and neighbour of the Markenfields who had lost Norton Conyers after that same 1569 rebellion which cost many a Northern landowner his acres. Fletcher Norton entered Parliament, became Solicitor-General, exchanged Ministerial office for the Speaker's chair, and went to the Lords as Baron Grantley of Markenfield in 1782.

Markenfield does not appear to have received in recent times quite as much attention from local antiquarians as it deserves. The best description and appreciation of its architecture is still that of Hudson Turner, written nearly seventy years ago. It was his engraving of Twopeny's drawing and his plan that were reproduced in the manual prepared by the Yorkshire Association for the Ripon meeting of the Archæological Institute in 1874. As regards the plan (Fig. 144), we are told that it " represents the presumed condition of the building prior to the alterations that introduced a second floor." It will be seen that the Edwardian house consisted of an undercroft

of good height, and above this a storey containing the chief rooms—such as hall, solar and chapel—rising up to the roof. As at Aydon (Fig. 116) and Brinsop (Fig. 161), the hall was approached by an outside staircase. Although an interior one has been substituted for it, yet its foundations have been located and the weather-moulding of its gabled roof is discernible in the illustration of the south side (Fig. 146).

To the left of this is a nineteenth century window, rightly and simply designed to give necessary light without self-assertion, but to the right are a pair of the original two-light transomed windows having a quatrefoil in their arched heads. A similar pair light the north side of the hall (Fig. 150). Between them rises up a chimney-stack ; but, if Mr. Hudson Turner's plan is correct, this, as at Aydon, only served the room in the undercroft, now the farm kitchen (Fig. 152), which is most picturesque with its great fire-arch, its deeply recessed windows, its old-fashioned furniture and its well kept and well furnished dresser. In the fourteenth century halls were still warmed from a central hearth, such as that which yet remains at Penshurst (Fig. 206), where the hall windows, if rather finer and more elaborate, are in the same style as those at Markenfield.

East of the hall lay the solar, which retains its fourteenth century fireplace. But it would seem that the only door out of the hall at this, which was the dais end, was through the south wall and into the chapel. This retains its original window (Fig. 147), of which the three lights give space for three quatrefoils in its head. To the right of it is an aumbry and a piscina (Fig. 149) with the Markenfield arms surrounded by an oak spray, while above rises a crocketed canopy whose fifteenth century character inclines us to attribute it to the younger Sir Thomas Markenfield, the husband of Elenor Conyers.

To the same date probably belong various alterations, such as the insertion of a second floor above the solar and the room south of the chapel. It will be noticed that, except in the hall and chapel, the windows are all square-headed, and as to this Mr. Hudson Turner tells us that they " have precisely the same mouldings as those that are arched and are evidently of the same

147.—THE EAST SIDE, SHOWING THE CHAPEL WINDOW.

148.—GOTHIC MASONRY.

149.—PISCINA IN CHAPEL WITH ARMS OF MARKENFIELD.

period." Possibly this may be true of the undercroft; but with regard to those above, though the mouldings may be fourteenth century, the square heads will be later. These windows probably represent the lower half of the original windows or the reconstituted mullioning of the upper half, for a careful study of the masonry of the walls will disclose traces of the old arched apertures filled in. In the centre of the side that faces west within the quadrangle there projects a delightful newel stair, with its original conical roof (Fig. 148) similar to one at Spofforth Castle.

The stone newel survives, but the treads are boarded over in deal. It leads up on to the roof, where, hidden from below we still find a hexagonal chimney-shaft in original condition, all the others having had at least their tops renewed, and there has been a good deal of necessary renovation of the parapet. Such work, however, was carried out with considerable care and discretion by the late Mr. Walbran. It has toned down and does not jar with the magnificent quality and delightful weathering of the original ashlar, which, in this favoured agricultural region of Yorkshire, does not suffer from the coal smoke that prevails in the West Riding.

The ranges of office and stable buildings that stretch out from the main block and encompass the quadrangle present, for the most part, a later appearance, but incorporate much of the original structure and some features not later than the fifteenth century. Such will be the row of shields on the building that abuts on to the west end of the hall. They include the Markenfield bezants, which we also find on the terminals of the dripstone of a doorway in the eastern range of buildings.

On the whole, the spirit of mediæval times seems still to brood over the exterior of Markenfield. But it is not so manifest within. Certainly the rooms in the undercroft under the solar retain their groined roofs, and, well kept and well stocked as they are by the prosperous and hospitable farmer who uses them as dairy and larder, they speak of Old English home-life. But it is a new staircase that takes us up to the hall, where we find a new roof and distempered walls hung with portraits of the

150.—THE NORTH SIDE.

151.—THE FARM BUILDINGS BEYOND THE MOAT.

late owners, among them the first Lord Grantley in his Speaker's robes. It is fortunate, however, that the whole building is kept in careful repair, and it is to be hoped that, if any very considerable renovations are undertaken with the view of accentuating the mediæval character of the place, they will be carried out with that judgment and restraint which more than one Yorkshire antiquarian and architect of to-day are qualified to bring to such delicate work.

152.—THE UNDERCROFT OF THE HALL, NOW THE KITCHEN.

BRINSOP COURT, HEREFORDSHIRE

IF Markenfield, as the picturesque remains of an old moated mansion, is full of architectural interest, Brinsop is in no way behind it in this respect, and exceeds it in landscape beauty. Herefordshire, for soil, scenery and climate, is among our most favoured counties, and that part especially which lies west of its cathedral city possesses almost unrivalled amenities for residential purposes. It has neither the wild ruggedness of mountainous Wales nor the dull expanse of the flat Midlands. It is set between these two regions and partakes of their good without sharing their bad qualities. It is still a rich agricultural country, but its tumbled and woody hills offer ever delightful and varying prospects, of which the loftier Welsh ranges frequently form the background. The mediæval lords of the Brinsop manor would probably think only of safety and convenience when they chose the site of their home, but Nature is here so lavish that she threw in amenity unasked. Moated houses are apt to be set in relaxing hollows or swampy flats. But Brinsop, though level with the brook which keeps the moat limpid and fresh by its flow, stands 350ft. above sea-level ; while it is sheltered by surrounding heights—such as Credenhill camp to the south—which boast of more than double that altitude. No healthier or prettier spot can be desired ; it combines the advantages of breezy hill air and of encompassing waters. But if the site is good, the building itself is a joy to him who cares for memorials of the past. Ten years ago it gave strong evidence of having come down in the world. Its chapel was a box-room, its banqueting hall a farm granary. A part was still inhabited

153.—THE APPROACH.

154.—PLANS OF GROUND AND FIRST FLOORS.

The old walls are shown in solid black; the new work "hatched."

but much was in parlous state or had disappeared, while docks and nettles discreetly shrouded the piles of rubbish that lay around and against all but the west side, where the front door had been contrived between what are now the Wordsworth and Queen Anne parlours. About the time when that sovereign reigned the timber-framed portions of this elevation had been adapted to the taste of the day. There modernising practically ceased. After that time the only enemies to the ancient fabric were neglect and lack of appreciation. The worst period that Brinsop went through was when the representative of its mediæval owners parted with it early in the nineteenth century; for we hear that then a tower, "though in a perfect state of preservation, was pulled down to assist in building a wall round the stables." That destructive *régime* was fortunately of brief duration. Mr. Dearman Edwards, auctioneer and agriculturist, came to reside there in 1851, eventually turned his tenancy into ownership and sought to stem the tide of decay, so that when, in 1911, he sold it to its present owners it was quite possible, by reparation rather than renewal, to give it back much of its ancient spirit and aspect.

The elaborate Norman work still traceable in the church shows the parish to have been one of early importance, but the first family which we come across as holding the manor is that of Torell or Tirell, of whom Ralph flourished when John was King. A younger Ralph Torell is returned as holding two hides in Brinsop by military service in 1340; and as the stone and woodwork of the banqueting hall show it to be about of this date, he may have been the builder. But it is not certain that the Court and manor were of his holding, for another family crops up hereabouts that certainly owned the Court in the fifteenth century, if not earlier. The Danseys, who were lords of Brinsop for four centuries at least, were originally written Dauntsey, and came from that Wiltshire parish. They were seated there at much the same time that we found the elder Ralph Torell at Brinsop, and not long afterwards they held land in Herefordshire also. If the fourteenth century hall, which occupies the south wing, is of earlier date than their occupation of Brinsop, the chapel, in the north wing, with a gable retaining much of its earlier detail, facing north, is surely of Dansey origin. The window tracery, which was partly lost, but has been repaired (Fig. 156), is of fifteenth century character, while the whole gable end, including the finial with a seated figure, reminds us of similar work at one of the most interesting Gothic houses of the county of the Danseys' origin. Until quite recently Great Chalfield (page 313) was in much the same condition as Brinsop is now, and one of its fine gable finials, representing a knight, had come down from its lofty perch. The same fate has overcome a player on the fiddle (page 151) at Brinsop, now set on the bridge across the moat. It is much mutilated, and the absence of its head makes it difficult to decide whether it is correctly described as a monkey in a manuscript account of Brinsop which was compiled for the Dansey family some fifty years ago. The Danseys of Tudor and Stuart times played no great part on the national stage, but they did their duty and

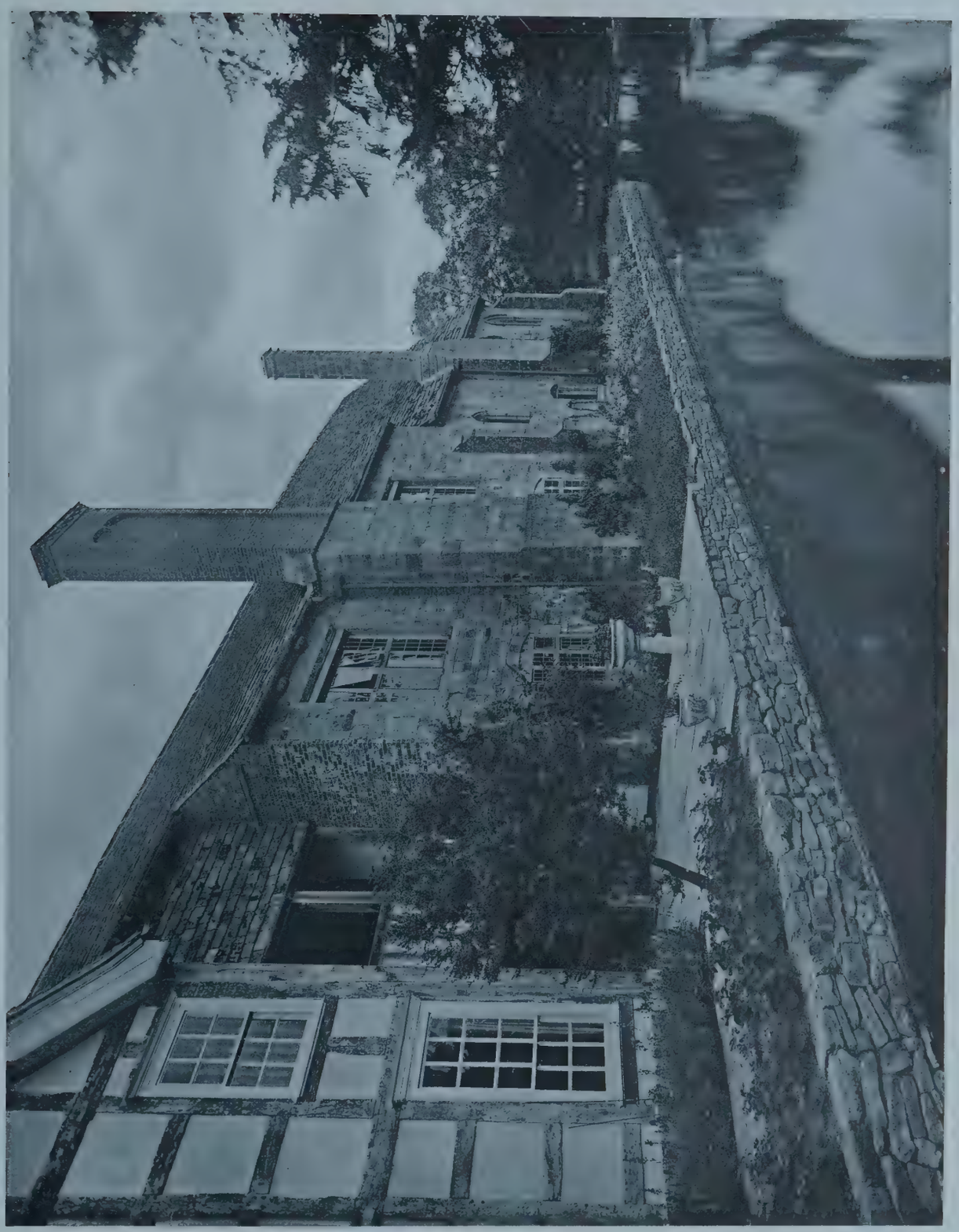
improved their position in their own county. The marriage of John Dansey with a Delamere heiress in Henry VIII's reign added the manor of Easton, on the Shropshire border, to his possessions. His grandson William, under Elizabeth, and his great-grandson Roger, under Charles I, were sheriffs of Herefordshire. It is noticeable that whereas the former was buried at Brinsop, the latter was laid to rest in the church of Little Hereford, the parish of which Easton forms part. Brinsop was becoming a seat of secondary importance, which accounts for the survival of its Gothic features. Yet even with the Delamere inheritance the Danseys were not among the richer Royalists of Herefordshire from whom the Commonwealth Parliament could

155.—SOUTH ELEVATION AND WORDSWORTH'S CEDAR.
The photograph was taken before the cedar was blown down in the 1917 *blizzard.*

squeeze large sums as composition for the return of their sequestered estates. Scudamores, Harleys and Coningsbys were the great men on that side, and proved profitable to the victors, while Brinsop was handed back to its owner on payment of £300 only. Symonds, King Charles's soldier-diarist, had placed Roger Dansey near the bottom of his list of the county gentry the amount of whose incomes he had gathered and set down, and he makes him worth £800 by the year. Symonds was in Herefordshire with his King during the dark days that followed Naseby, when Wales seemed the only haven. Brinsop was the halting-place for " the King's troope " on June 18th, 1645, and adversity had not destroyed Symonds' faculty for archæological observation. He found the east window of the church " fairly painted," and among the coats of arms it contained he recognised that of the Danseys. He also noted " divers old-fashioned flat stones in the chancel with a flowery crosse wrought on them." Roger's son William was styled Captain Dansey, and probably saw service abroad during the Thirty Years' War, and there met his bride.

156.—THE WEST SIDE AND WORDSWORTH'S CEDAR.

Her grandfather had been that Sir Robert Dudley whose father, Elizabeth's favourite Earl of Leicester, had denied his legitimacy. He had lived abroad, a good deal made of by Kings and Courts, where he was apt to style himself Duke of Northumberland. His daughter was created Duchess of Dudley in Stuart times, and it was one of her children who became the wife of William Dansey. A flat stone in Brinsop Churchyard still commemorates " The R^t^ Honourable Ladie Doughlas Dudley." As their son William lived to 1715, it may well have been he who brought the central portion of the Court into line with the taste of the day. In the centre of the west side the treble-sash window—inserted in an aperture so wide as to point to previous mullioning—has the sturdy sash-barring which our architects of Queen Anne's time knew was consonant with the general style of their elevations. But, as much the same sections and mouldings of woodwork continued for some time under the Hanoverian dynasty,



157.—SOUTH SIDE FROM THE GARDEN BRIDGE OVER THE MOAT.

Brinsop may owe these changes to the last of the male line of Dansey. Richard Dansey was born in 1670, entered the Army and rose to be a Lieutenant-Colonel during the wars which King William and Queen Anne waged against the might of Louis XIV. He was engaged in the meteoric campaigns waged by the reckless and romantic Earl of Peterborough in 1705–7, wherein he first won and then lost a great part of Spain for the allies. Of Colonel Richard Dansey an old Herefordshire song tells that :

He trimmed the jackets of the Dons
In battle at Almanza

Unfortunately, most of the " trimming " was done by the other side, for it was at Almanza that Peterborough was defeated by the Duke of Berwick in 1707, and the loss of his conquests speedily followed. As we hear no more of the Colonel's campaigning, he probably came home with

158.—THE SOUTH SIDE FROM THE LAWN.

his beaten and dispirited chief and lived on till 1740 at Easton Court, where his sword and portrait hung until that estate was sold to Sir Joseph Bailey in 1840. Richard Dansey died without issue, and his sister Deborah was his heiress. She married Edward Collins, but their son took the name of Dansey. Brinsop remained in the family till about 1820, when it was acquired by David Ricardo of Gatcombe, whose tenant gave it some celebrity through the relations and visitors whom he entertained. At Dame Birkett's school at Penrith, William Wordsworth and Mary Hutchinson not only learned to read and write, but to love one another, and in due course they became man and wife. Mary's father was a leading tradesman in the town, but his son took to agriculture, and Mary kept house for him near Stockton-on-Tees until she married the poet and settled down in the Lake Country in 1802. Eventually her brother left the North and rented Brinsop Court and its lands, which amount to some 500 acres. Here the Wordsworths were frequently his guests, the first visit being in 1827 and the last in 1845. The poet's favourite

159.—STEPS FROM TERRACE TO LAWN.

sister, Dorothy, and his son-in-law, Edward Quillinan—the slashing, duelling dragoon, who settled down at Ambleside and wrote verses—were often of the party, and Robert Southey was also apt to be a visitor. Of Dorothy Wordsworth it is related that, though she was by no means a canine lover, the Brinsop dog, Prince, got so fond that when she was leaving he secretly got into the cart containing her luggage and wished to enter the coach which took her northwards from Hereford. Yet he had a good friend at home in the person of young George Hutchinson, who wept his heart out when the dog, grown old and decrepit, was destroyed by hanging. It was to soothe the boy that Edward Quillinan, who was at Brinsop at the time, wrote the epitaph which begins with the lines :

> Stop! passenger, and shed a tear,
> A most ill-fated Prince lies here:
> His reign in youth was wild and pleasant,
> He hunted rabbit, hare and pheasant.
> Grown old he bid adieu to sport
> And mildly ruled at Brinsop Court.

In 1827 Mr. Hutchinson made his brother-in-law plant, at the south-west corner of the moat, the cedar which, up to the moment of the 1917 blizzard, almost swept the windows of the house with its limbs, and whose stately shape, as seen in the illustration (Fig. 156), composed so well with the old chimneys and gables of the house, all reflected in the broad and placid waters below. Nor was the cedar the only memorial of the poet at Brinsop, for the late Lord Saye and Sele gave a portrait of him to the house, to be kept there in perpetuity.

Such is the quiet and uneventful history of this ancient house, whose every stone seemed redolent of the past and whose whole environment shaped itself into a defence against the inrush of modernity. When it changed hands nine years ago it was endeavoured, with what success the illustrations show, to preserve as much as possible of this aspect and yet make it an entirely comfortable abode, well lit, well drained, well ventilated and well warmed, with all the proper conveniences for an ample modern household. Before work was actually put in hand the

160.—EAST ELEVATION OF NEW OFFICE WING.

161.—SOUTH-EAST CORNER OF COURTYARD.

opinion of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings was taken (in the person of Mr. Weir), and their approval given to what was to be and, since, has been done. Of course, in process of repair and adaptation one regrettable necessity could not be avoided. The hand of Time which works so much destruction, likewise possesses an unrivalled skill in decoration. A chimney on the point of falling may be far more picturesque than the same chimney firmly set up on its base. A crazy window that admits wind and rain will be more attractive to a sketcher than the same window newly repaired. A tumble-down house possesses its own melancholy charm. Make it strong and erect, and when your work is done an aspect of newness cannot be avoided. This, however, is not matter for criticism or long regret. The decorating hand begins its work over again, and very soon replaces more exquisitely than before the quality that human work newly done of necessity lacks. Presently the mellowness will return, and in an enhanced degree, for if time glorifies even a ruin, it glorifies still more a building inhabited and well suited for habitation by refined people. A stately home kept in good repair shows off the decorative touches of time far more attractively than any ruin. Brinsop is rapidly regaining—has, indeed, already largely regained—what for the moment it had been deprived of by modern workmanship.

The earliest existing part of the house is half the south side (Fig. 155), containing the great hall (unmistakably of the fourteenth century), the westward end being of Elizabethan date. The north side (Fig. 153) contained the chapel and other rooms of fifteenth century date. Hence it is probable that by the end of the middle age Brinsop, when standing complete, had assumed a quadrangular form, entered through an archway under the lost tower on the north side. What the character of the east side may have been, if it existed, is uncertain, but was probably composed of odd and end farm buildings such as old inventories class as "houses of office," and here the new office wing (Fig. 160) has been built. A moat surrounded and still surrounds the whole.

When Mr. and Mrs. Astley obtained possession of the house its splendid banqueting hall was used as a granary ; its chapel was a box-room, the fine window being blocked up. The upper floor of the north side was disused and dangerous ; the lower floor was given over to fowl-roosts and the like mean uses. Only the portion that had been dealt with early in the eighteenth century was really in a habitable condition, and that was calling out for attention and repair. Of course, numerous ancient features had been covered over or filled in in process of time. From end to end and from floor to roof-tree there was work of conservation to be accomplished and of adaptation to the human needs of a twentieth century family. Broadly speaking, what had been done was as follows : The old building was cleaned out, repaired and strengthened, and a new building added to complete the square by filling in the east side and the north-east corner. The new side

162.—NORTH-WEST ANGLE OF COURTYARD.

does not pretend to be of ancient design or foundation. It is as much of its own day as the west is of Queen Anne's. It is quite simple in style, unobtrusively placed and harmonises with the rest. By the verdict of those who are using it, it perfectly performs its practical functions of housing domestics and providing them with the kitchens and other offices needed for their work. At the south end, indeed, the servants' quarters on the ground floor do make a raid into the old building and have annexed the undercroft which was at all times intended for a work and store place. But the new side is only attached along half the end face of the hall, so that the old work stands out markedly separate from the new. A paved way, protected by a stone parapet, divides the plain stone-built east front from the moat, into which (whenever again in the distant future the house falls to a low estate) careless cooks will assuredly throw their kitchen refuse!

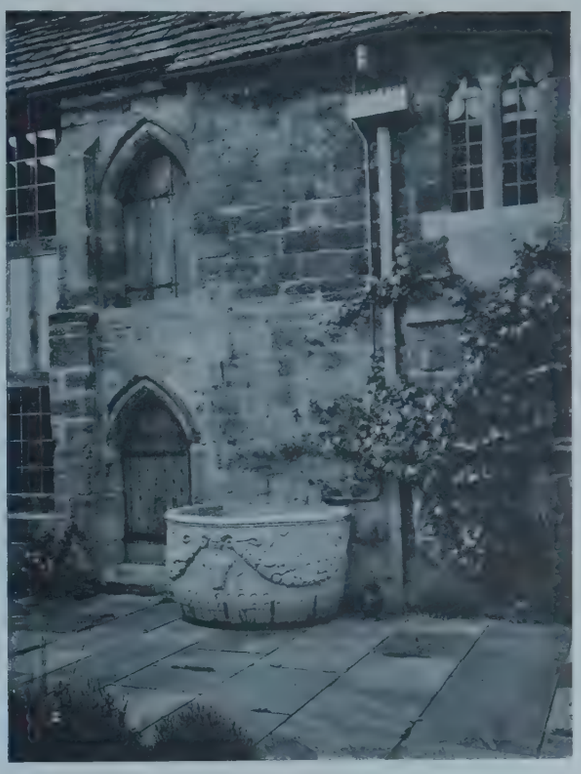
The main entrance, now as heretofore, is in the north front. Originally it must have been approached by a single bridge over the moat. The loss of the tower is a great misfortune. Its conjectural replacement was not entertained and no change was made here except in the gable

163.—THE COURTYARD GARDEN: LOOKING WEST.

window. A bridge leading directly to the door would have been most inconvenient unless the actual entrance to the house had been within the courtyard. In that case the yards must have been paved and left plain. It was decided to garden it formally and make it into the charming little domain of peace which now we can behold (Fig. 162). Vehicles had to be refused admittance. Instead, therefore, of approaching the entrance gate head on, they must come to it sideways, and they must be able to depart without backing out. Hence the short semicircular drive that crosses the moat by two new bridges. By a happy piece of invention the interior of the semicircle has been made to contain an enclosure of water, which now represents this part of the moat. Stately steps lead down to it immediately opposite the gateway and give intimacy to the gorgeous water lilies that cover its surface in summer.

The old covered roadway that entered the courtyard, being no longer needed to serve that end, became a vestibule to the house, giving access on the left into a waiting hall, as at

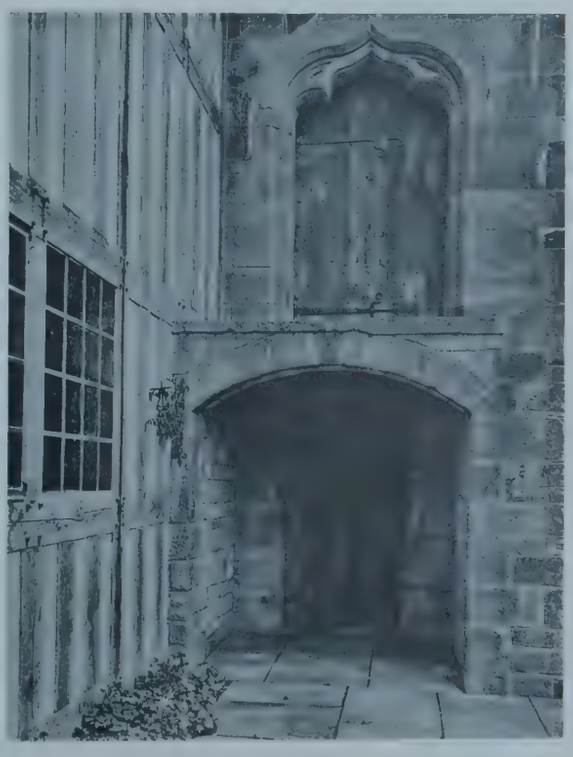
Hurstmonceux, and on the right leading away by a passage to the Oak Parlour and other rooms. The waiting hall (Fig. 170) is a specially charming and interesting apartment, the existence of which was not suspected till the old mess that cluttered it up was cleared away. Then the massive beams and joists supporting the floor above were disclosed and the bold timbering of the east wall; but a very peculiar feature manifested is that all this heavy structure overhead does not rest, as would be supposed, on the walls, but on vertical beams or posts propped up against them.



164.—A BIT OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY NORTH WING.

Though it is no longer possible to enter the courtyard through the old covered way, the reader will find it easier to orient himself in imagination in the house if he begins by glancing round the courtyard itself. On the north side of it, the side facing the old entrance, the Great Hall is seen on the left (Fig. 161) and the Elizabethan Great Chamber on the right. Both are on the first floor raised above an undercroft, so that the entrance to the hall is up stone steps set again in the south-east corner of the yard, from which position they had been moved.

The platform at the head of the steps (Fig. 165) covers a vault leading through to the undercroft, an arrangement closely paralleled at Aydon (Fig. 116). The upper doorway is of charming design, and one of the wrought-iron hinges is original. Would the "anti-restorationists" claim that the missing hinge ought not to have been supplied by a copy? The Elizabethan solar is lit by a great oblong window divided into sixteen lights by seven mullions and a transom. The spectator facing the side of the court which has thus been described has the half-timber façade of the new wing on his left hand and the brick rear of the Queen Anne wing on his right. The latter is diversified by two gables, one of which had to be rebuilt; so, for convenience sake inside, it was brought slightly forward. A door here gives access to the living-rooms in this corner—the three principal sitting-rooms. The only old work visible in the fourth or north side is the stone face of the portion which contains the waiting hall beside the vestibule. Here are two delightful pointed doorways, one above the other (Fig. 164), the upper having formerly been reached by a staircase, no longer existing. The illustrations fully show the pleasant and sheltered garden area of vases, flower beds and paved spaces contrived in the courtyard (Fig. 163). The most important and interesting room in the house is the fourteenth century banqueting hall (Fig. 167). This, though turned to mean uses, was in substantially sound preservation, the all-important roof having been kept in repair by re-covering it with Rugeley tiles, since, in their turn,



165.—DOORWAYS TO HALL AND UNDERCROFT.

166.—NORTH-WEST CORNER OF THE BANQUETING HALL.

again replaced by stone. One or two of the windows had lost their tracery, others had been blocked up, but all could be mended, and the same was true of the chimney arch. But it is the noble timberwork of the roof that is the great feature. Massive beams, in form somewhat resembling a modern girder, but slightly bent in the middle, span the room from side to side. From the centre of each a fourfold clustered springing of massive wooden arches arises. The longitudinal arches support the roof tree, those branching to right and left the main roofing beams. All these

167.—THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY BANQUETING HALL.

168.—THE OAK PARLOUR.

169.—THE SCREEN IN THE OAK PARLOUR.

arches are cusped, but the transverse ones are quaintly asymmetrical, with two cusps on one side and one on the other. All the timbers are stout, and the visible parts of them were in sound condition, the wall plate alone being much decayed.

The east was the upper end of the hall, and there the space between the rafters was plastered. Traces remained to show that, over the western half, the rafters had been hidden behind a covering of boards and that plaster and boards were decorated with red rosettes. The roof timbers at the upper end were likewise once richly coloured. The original floor level had been changed; it was raised in order to provide more head-room in the chamber beneath. This has now been set right and all other damage made good, but the ancient decoration could not be revived. The spaces between the rafters are now plastered throughout. The original east wall was gone and had been rebuilt in brick, which, in its turn, called for attention. Now the old hall stands as firmly and as finely as ever before: a monument well worth the pious care that has been lavished upon it. The west end wall of the hall (Fig. 166) is a timber screen, accurately replacing what was there originally, for the main transverse beam survived, and in it are the dowel holes into which the uprights fitted, so that they could be renewed with certainty as to their form and number. On the other side of the screen, between it and the wall of the Elizabethan solar, is a small

170.—FIFTEENTH CENTURY ROOM ON THE GROUND FLOOR.

171.—FIFTEENTH CENTURY UPPER ROOM, PROBABLY ONCE THE CHAPEL.

staircase which is entirely new and leads down to the servants' quarters. The narrow cusped window that lights it to the north is original (Fig. 172), but the illumination thus provided was insufficient for modern ideas, so that a new one had to be cut through the outside wall over against it, and through this the south sun pours.

172.—NEW STAIRCASE ON THE SOUTH SIDE.
Showing the original window and the replaced hall screen.

A few steps lead up to the door of the solar (Fig. 174), which, fortunately for the dining-room beneath it, is at a higher level than the hall. It is furnished and fitted as Mrs. Astley's library, the walls being covered with bookcases containing well bound and delightful books. The fireplace occupies its original position, though the overmantel and wainscoting did not belong to the house, but came from Mildmay House, Clerkenwell, when it was dismantled. Similarly the fine ceiling is not original, but copied from one at Broughton Castle and well adapted to its place. The space under the library is now occupied by the dining-room, which is lit on the courtyard side by an original window, smaller than, but similar to, that in the room above. These two rooms are now, as to size, windows, and fireplaces, as originally built. They replace a perfect warren of little intrusive offices, chambers and staircases, which have all been cleared away.

Returning now to the vestibule replacing the old covered entrance passage, we should have found, a few years ago, on our right hand when entering, a number of small office rooms—dairy, larder, and so forth—occupying the ground floor of the fifteenth century wing. These, of course, were not original ; they filled one of the best parts of the old house, and were lit by two delightful ancient windows. Obviously here was a site for something better. Moreover, the main entrance to the house being replaced and the main staircase to the upper floor contrived in this quarter (Fig. 173), it followed that the principal living and reception room must replace the old and no longer needed kitchen. All this was brought about in a way which now makes this one of the most picturesque parts of the interior of the house. Of course, all the woodwork is modern, except the floor beams overhead and the half-timber wall of the old covered way ; but a good convention has been followed and the eye is pleased. Then comes one of the agreeable surprises of the house. The old lamp-room and other closets that used to adjoin the kitchen on the south were taken away and the space thus disencumbered became a kind of lobby, separated from the large room by a balustraded screen with a wide opening in the midst (Fig. 169). The beam into which it is fixed overhead is original, and supports the old joists of the floor above at a lower level than the floor over the great room itself (Fig. 168). The wide original fireplace was found intact when the

173.—NEW STAIRCASE IN THE NORTH WING.

kitchen range was removed, but, unfortunately, the beam above it had been sawn through and had to be replaced.

The most important room on the floor above is the old chapel (Fig. 171) occupying the north-west angle of the house and lit at its west end by the finest of the fifteenth century windows, which preserves much of its tracery, a quatrefoil filling the head between two lancets, which are divided horizontally by a massive transom moulded below into two depressed cusped arches. The pierced stone knob, through which the shutter-fastening passed, is also noteworthy in the case both of this window and of the smaller admirably preserved two-light window, also keeping its stone seats, which opens to the north. A pointed niche will be observed in the west wall beside the big window. This is a blocked-up doorway which led to a newel staircase once existing at this angle and serving to make the chapel generally accessible from without the house. There is a corresponding door in the room below, but all trace of the staircase has disappeared. How far eastward the chapel extended can no longer be asserted. The original roof has gone, and the one that exists may date from the sixteenth century ; but on the gable point there still sits a quaint sculptured musician, whose bent arm from below looks like that of a 'cello player. We have already noted his headless fellow fallen from a like high position on a parapet coping, for safety's sake now built into the coping of the stone foot-bridge which has been thrown over the moat. They remind one of the figures on the Carnarvon Eagle Tower (Fig. 96) and on the Martin Tower of Chepstow Castle.

174.—THE ELIZABETHAN GREAT CHAMBER, NOW THE LIBRARY.

All the southern part of the west wing was, as before observed, remodelled about the time of Queen Anne. Its original features have been preserved, but the overshadowing cedar made some additional windows necessary. The perishing rough-cast had to be renewed and this has not yet toned in with the delightful colouring of the neighbouring timber and masonry. Two large and cheerful parlours, one of them called Wordsworth's, occupy this retired corner of the house, and here the owner has his retreat. The space between the Elizabethan solar and this room has been used on both floors for loggias, and as the lower one is adjacent to the dining-room, meals can conveniently be served there in warm weather.

A paved space divides it from the moat, along which a path and border run beneath the south elevation, which is, architecturally, the most attractive side (Fig. 157). The numerous original windows, the bold chimneys carried massively down to the ground, the buttresses and the excellent stone-covered roof combine to make a very picturesque composition obviously venerable. A few creepers, not too dense nor as yet too high, decorate the foot of the wall which rises above a tangle of flowers framed in the low stone walls that drop into the calm foreground of water. With the broad terrace garden on the other side of the moat (Fig. 159) and the many species of ducks of fine plumage that are generally to be seen enlivening the surface of the water, the picture is one that will not soon be forgotten. Of course, the exterior views of the house gain enormously from the presence of water. Nothing marries with architecture so well as the smooth, reflecting surface of a pool. But the water at Brinsop does not produce the normal effect of a moat ; that is to say, a canal of equal width framing the four sides of a building at a short and approximately

unvarying distance from the walls. The Brinsop moat varies in width at different parts and is crossed by several bridges, some of which barely rise at their crown above the level of the water, so that they seem to divide it into separate pools. If it thereby results that we miss the broad uniting effect which a simple moat produces, on the other hand we are presented with a variety of foreground effects capable of materially aiding the efforts of an able garden designer. This opportunity has not been allowed to slip, and Brinsop Court is enframed in garden surroundings that set off its charms as they deserve.

In the case of a house of architectural merit one of the great difficulties is the proper disposition of the trees about it. From within you want them not too far away to frame the prospects from the windows or to stand in full view as objects of admiration for their own sake, yet they must not darken rooms by being too near at hand, as was the fault of Wordsworth's cedar and the cause of some consolation at its loss. On the other hand, trees around a house are liable to hide it from

175.—THE TOILET OF THE FLAMINGOES.

those points of view in its immediate neighbourhood from which it could best be beheld. No one would wish to mask the south front of Brinsop with trees except near the two extremities.

On the north side of the house, beyond the bridges of approach, there are broad sheets of water, fed by active springs. One of these, with a little island in the midst, is the special home of the long-legged flamingoes (Fig. 175), whose quaint attitudes and delicate pink plumage are a delight to watch ; whether they are standing in the shallow water on their stilt-like legs, or whether wading farther out in search of their natural food which the mud supplies, they appear to be swimming. These are far from being the only exotic birds about the place. Various kinds of ducks pervade the moats and enliven the waters : the beautiful summer duck of North America, the rare ringed teal, the cinnamon teal, pochard, scaup, golden-eye, shelduck, rosybill, tufted and others, besides black-necked and Coscoroba swans ; while across a meadow which skirts the garden on the south side several species of cranes walk with stately mien, breaking at times the stillness with loud trumpeting cries. A short distance away is an elaborately

constructed aviary, suitably contrived to be a healthy home for feathered creatures of many lands, which Mr. Astley, with his great love and knowledge of birds, so successfully acclimatises.

As we lift our eyes from the birds on the water to the flowers on its margin and the venerable walls of the old dwelling, and then turn them away to the distant hills rising into the calm sky beyond the border of the level valley floor, a great sense of domestic peace comes over us. We recognise that here, at any rate, the adaptation of man and nature together to a common end has been attained—the discipline of both by generations of human labour to the high result of what is named civilisation.

THE HEADLESS MUSICIAN.

Originally on gable point or tower parapet. It was photographed when on a gate post in 1909, *and is now on the parapet of a bridge across the moat.*

NORTHBOROUGH MANOR HOUSE,

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

ON the road from Peterborough to Lincoln, and not far from the point where the approach to the fen land obliged the road to be raised on a causeway and bridge over a marshy tributary of the Welland River, stands the picturesque remnant of the fourteenth century home of the de la Mares. The manor and parish of Northborough do not seem to have emerged from the waste lands in Saxon times, but the manor was part of the possessions of Geoffrey de la Mare before the thirteenth century closed, and he obtained a grant of free warren and licence for a weekly market and annual fair. The latter shows that the place was of some importance and population. The fair would tend to further development, and was looked on askance by the great Abbot of Peterborough. His own fair might suffer, so he induced de la Mare to relinquish his right. This same Geoffrey was the probable builder of the manor house ; and his hall and gate-house, modified in appearance and character by later alterations and additions, stand, in substance and, to some extent, in detail, to the present day. It has every appearance of dating from the days of Edward II, and is a most valuable example of the unfortified manor house of that day. In these flat alluvial stretches it was easy enough to make a moat, but Northborough does not retain one like its rather earlier neighbour, Woodcroft House. In

176.—THE GATE-HOUSE OPENING FROM THE VILLAGE STREET.

177.—THE GATE-HOUSE ARCH, AND THE NORTH ELEVATION.

neither case is there any provision for portcullis or drawbridge, so that massive doors and the outer walls of buildings surrounding a court, and themselves surrounded by water, must have been the chief protection against marauders. At Northborough many of these buildings have disappeared, while part of what remain, together with the windows and other features of the older building, have the full flavour of the Jacobean period and bring us near to the days when John Claypole the elder refused to pay ship-money, and John Claypole the younger wooed and won the favourite daughter of the soldier and parliamentarian who was to become Lord Protector.

After Geoffrey de la Mare's grandson had fallen into debt and parted with Northborough the manor passed through several hands before James Claypole purchased it in 1563. At that

time Claypole is described as a yeoman of King's Cliffe, which lies fifteen miles east of Northborough. But when, after a thirty years' ownership of the former home of the de la Mares, he was buried in the fine south chapel which they had added to the parish church, the Claypole arms were placed in the arch spandrels of his canopied monument, showing that he had reached gentility. His elder son went further, and was knighted as Sir John. He died childless, and was followed in possession by Adam; and it will be one or other of these brothers who made the Jacobean alterations to the house.

Cromwell's son-in-law was Adam's grandson, and was by no means the stern Puritan that we should expect. In fact, Mrs. Hutchinson, who was free with her epithets when she disliked anyone, set him down as a "debauched ungodly cavalier." He certainly seems to have preferred a Court to a conventicle, and was a great personage at the functions which graced the Protectorate period, such as Oliver's investiture, Richard's installation and the reception of ambassadors. His wife, too, was somewhat unregenerate, and her father had to warn her against "being cozened with worldly vanity." She is described as "acting the part of a princess very naturally," and held herself vastly superior in the knowledge and practice of aristocratic *convenances* to the wives of those who had been Cromwell's chief brethren in arms. An amusing instance of the airs which made Mrs. Hutchinson call her an insolent fool occurs in a letter written to Hyde (afterwards Lord Clarendon), and describing a wedding at which the Major-Generals were present unaccompanied by their womankind. "The feast wanting much of its grace by the absence of those ladies, it was asked by one there where they were. Mrs. Claypole answered, 'I'll warrant you washing their dishes at home as they used to do.' This hath been extremely illtaken." She used her influence to obtain the pardon of many condemned Royalists, and Royalist writers even describe her as upbraiding the Protector on her death-bed for the blood he had shed. Her respect and affection for the father who loved her so well make this a most unlikely tale, the more so as he was already smitten with the illness which ended his days within a month of the time when he had laid his daughter to rest in Westminster Abbey. But that her own and her husband's sympathies with the cause of the exiles were fully understood by them after the Restoration is shown by her body having been left undisturbed where it lay in Henry VII's Chapel, and by her husband's property and person escaping attack. He lived on till 1688, and his residence at Northborough may be traced by the report of quarrels with the clergy and people of that parish. He was very properly branded as "a factious gentleman" when, on one of these occasions, he seized the church register and tore out some of its pages. This was about the year 1678, when his views gave rise to so much suspicion that he was lodged for a short while in the Tower. His connection with Northborough was then drawing to a close. The semi-Royal doings of Protectorate days had probably given him expensive tastes, and the same cause which made the last of the de la Mares sell Northborough in 1351 will have led to the last of the Claypoles parting with it in 1681 to Lord Fitzwilliam. It had already once before been in this family, for the rich London merchant who bought so many Northamptonshire acres had acquired it in 1516. He had left it to a younger son, who alienated it; but since 1681 it has remained to the Fitzwilliams and is part of the estates of the owner of Milton House, which lies south of it. It then ceased to be of any importance and became a farmer's dwelling. This fate will account, on the one hand, for its diminution in size, and, on the other, for the survival of what remains very much in the form which the Claypoles had given it when one of them sought to weld Jacobean fashions into the home of Geoffrey de la Mare. In his time a central block, containing the hall and domestic buildings and facing a gate-house (Fig. 177) across a court-yard of which outbuildings and stabling formed the other two sides, the whole being surrounded by a moat, was a normal arrangement and was no doubt adopted by him. Now there is no trace of a moat, and the east and west sides of the court are gone. To the north stands the gate-house (Fig. 176), while the hall and butteries, cut up into farmhouse rooms, occupy the south side. There remains enough, despite the Claypole transformation, to show that a builder of no mean order was employed here in the fourteenth century, for the well preserved gable and chimney (Fig. 178) and the mutilated doorways (Fig. 179) at the west end of the hall are comparable to the best surviving Edwardian domestic work. Indeed, the triple door feature is richer than the similar arrangement at Penshurst (Fig. 197).

The broad way through the gate-house is thrice arched. Both outer walls are pierced by noble archways thirteen feet wide and richly moulded. The space between them, that is, the depth of the building, is divided by a stone screen—pierced with two arched openings eight feet and three feet wide respectively. These are set near the outer archway, thus making two unequal sections, each of which was originally vaulted over, as we may see by the corbels and the springs of the ribbed groining that remain. We find the same arrangement at Maxstoke Priory (Fig. 269). Close to the archway on the inner or yard side there are doorways that gave into the rooms on either hand, the room to the east being approached past a newel stairway that led to the upper floor. To the west the mediæval room was afterwards replaced by a long range of Jacobean buildings, broken by dormer windows on both elevations, one of them, on the yard side, having a sundial as a finial, which just shows on the left of the

178.—THE PORCH AND GOTHIC CHIMNEY.

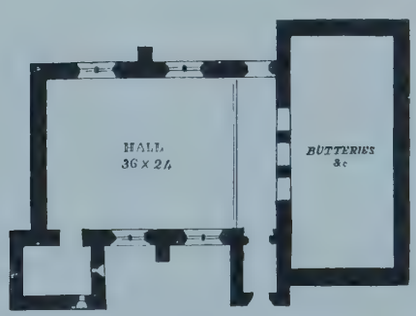
picture of the south elevation of the house (Fig. 180). The outline of the hall—its roof and gable-ends separated from the contiguous buildings in the mediæval manner—appears clearly, whether we look at it from north or south. It was an apartment rising up to the roof, with a pair of tall windows and a doorway on either side. The north doorway was protected by a porch in the fifteenth century, and led to the "screens." This passage ended with the south doorway, admitting to an inner court or enclosure. Above it was a gallery. To the left were openings into the hall, and to the right the three doorways gave access to the various offices.

179.—DOORS TO KITCHEN, BUTTERY AND PANTRY.

Their ambitious design and skilful execution show that this house, if never of great size, was of the first quality. Unfortunately, the apices of the outer arching are destroyed, but the exquisite workmanship of the inner ogee arches, with ball-flower ornament in the hollow of the moulding and rich crocketings above it, remain intact. This work is exactly answerable to that of the gable and chimney which terminate, on the exterior, the wall which the three doorways pierce. The gable is enriched with crockets. The chimney is a hexagon, each side of which is carved with a canopy, while we again find the ball-flower in the cornice of its battlemented top. Indeed, this ornament will have been used throughout in the cornices, for it appears in that under the eaves, except where it was knocked away by the Claypoles when they divided the hall into two floors and lit the upper one by inserting dormers. These were placed just above the mediæval windows, of which the upper part was then blocked up, without, however, removing the elaborate tracery, which is perfectly observable. Had the original roof remained, as at Crowhurst and Brinsop (Fig. 167), it might have been legitimate to have removed the Claypole insertions and given back to the hall its ancient appearance as at those two places. Northamptonshire teems with good Jacobean work; but a fourteenth century hall, finely wrought, is a very

rare survival in any county, and to show it as it was would have educational value. However, as we read in Hudson Turner's " Domestic Architecture " that the timbers of the roof were entirely destroyed, the place is best left alone to tell its history of changing ownership and taste and to give pleasure by its admirable picturesqueness and the glorious weathering of its excellent materials and fine features.

180.—THE SOUTH ELEVATION.



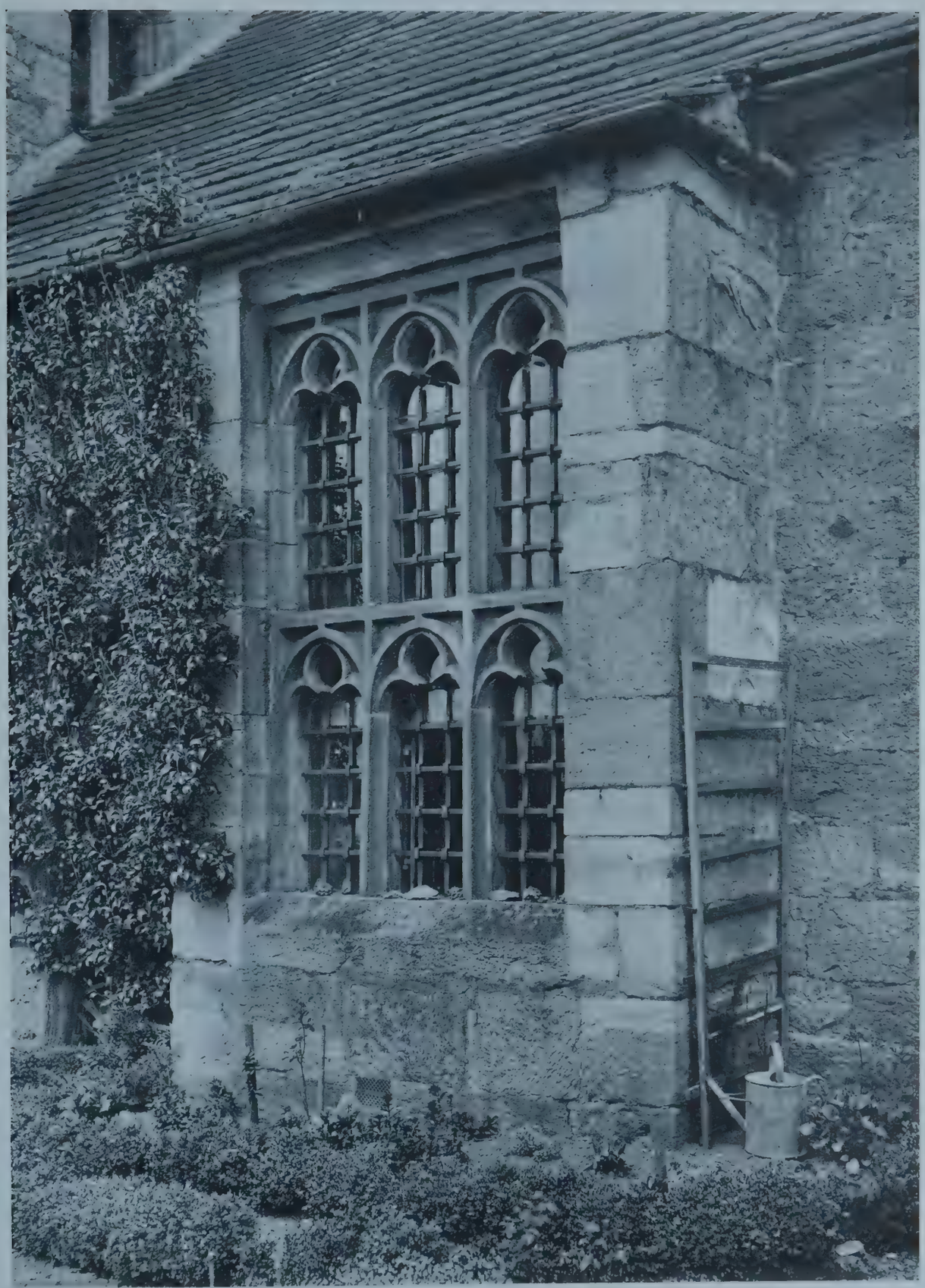
PLAN.

From Parker's " Domestic Architecture," fourteenth century.

YANWATH HALL, WESTMORLAND

NEAR Penrith, but in Westmorland, a few miles below Ullswater, on the lovely river Eamont, stands a house the story of which everyone who passes at once begins to guess. It is seen from the railway also, quite distinctly, before Penrith is reached from the south, and is a striking feature in the landscape. It is a large house, yet without grounds or woods and big trees, or anything else that makes the manor of to-day. Yet the place is all in good order, and the river sweeps swift and clear below the low grassy knoll

181.—THE COURTYARD FROM THE ARCHWAY.



182.—THE BAY WINDOW OF THE HALL.

183.—THE FRONT.

on which it stands. A strange old place altogether, much as though a knight in armour had survived to turn up among a lot of khaki-dressed staff officers, his armour a little rusty, and his equipment spare and decidedly out of date, but otherwise not altogether different from the soldiers of to-day. So it is with Yanwath Hall, for that is the name of the fine old place. It

184.—THE TOWER FROM THE COURTYARD.

is neither a ruin nor yet has it been modernised enough to rank with the houses which have always been the homes of the same class which built them. Consequently, it is the more attractive and delightful, a kind of Rip Van Winkle of a house, only hundreds of years more antique than the sleeper of the Catskills ; for this house, in which the Westmorland farmer lives and enjoys life to-day, is nearly six centuries old—at least, the greater part of it is—and during that time people have cooked and eaten and slept in it, and Scotch raiders have swept round it, and failed to take it or burn it, times out of number, and cattle have been fattened and cows milked and horses fed and fruit and flowers grown in its yards and gardens for all that long series of days. Two hundred and some odd thousands of dinners must have been cooked there, and the same number of breakfasts, let alone all the animals' meals. It must have seen a good deal of fighting and burning, and a good deal more cattle stealing and horse thieving ; and if only the record of what has been viewed from the watch turrets on the tower (very remarkable turrets, too, figured in the best books of architecture as models of that kind of thing) could have been set down in a household log book, the history of the North of England would probably be even more exciting reading than it is. The Scotch used to sack Penrith pretty regularly, and the castle there was built to be a refuge in these recurring raids. But the charm about Yanwath is that just as little as Markenfield or Northborough (pages 125 and 152) is it a castle, or a fighting place *ad hoc*, but only a gentleman's house which, like the gentleman of the day himself, had to wear armour. It is one of several others, a regular chain of such houses down the Eamont Valley and the tributaries of that river, including Clifton Tower on the Lowther, and Dacre Castle, and Brougham. It looks more cheerful to-day than when it was built, because the owners in the days of Edward VI thought they could venture to put in some big and handsome windows, the Scotch having had the fight so thoroughly knocked out of them at Flodden that they, to change the metaphor, had got a bellyful for two reigns or thereabouts. We do not hear of them shutting up a school full of Cumberland children and burning them as they did a few centuries before, and the county generally was in an expansive mood. It was really a very bold thing to build Yanwath Hall as a house and not a castle. The first proprietor, who probably did this enterprising thing in a moment of

185.—ORIGINAL ENTRANCE DOOR IN THE COURTYARD.

186.—A WATCH TOWER.

youthful exhilaration, appears to have been one John de Sutton, who married an heiress, Margaret, of the family of De Somerie, in 1322. As that was just on the eve of a thirteen years' truce with Scotland, John de Sutton may have felt that there was a good time coming, when he would not be absolutely certain of being burnt in his bed if he did not sleep in a castle. He not only built a real house, with only one very strong defensive annex—the remarkable tower here shown (Fig. 189)—but gave it a good stone courtyard, with absolutely nothing which could be burnt about it—a stone roof and stone door-posts, gutters, floors, and the like, and buildings which, down to the Plantagenet pigsties and stables, are in good order to this day. The tower, the only obvious concession to the unpleasantness of the times, was enormously thick, and was possibly rebuilt or added to later. The lower room is vaulted and only lighted by narrow slits splaying internally and chamfered externally.

187.—IN THE HALL.

The next storey is a single room only, the ceiling of which was smartened up under the

later Tudors. It has large and handsome windows, which were inserted, probably, in the reign of Edward VI, or of Elizabeth, as we see by the arms over the fireplace (Fig. 188). A small room leads out of this, in which, some years ago, yet stood a bedstead. In the hugely thick walls are recesses for lockers, a newel staircase at one corner, this little room, and a drain for slops such as we have seen at thirteenth century Aydon (page 108), and shall find again at Chalfield (page 328). In the thickness of the windows on either side are seats. The top of the tower was probably improved later (Fig. 186). It is quite a remarkable and excellent bit of architecture, and was probably a favourite lounge in time of peace, and a safe and pleasant refuge when the raiders were abroad. There is a turret at each corner, with a stairway leading into it, and an octagonal chimney-shaft, with side apertures to its pyramidal top. Below is the beautiful ford, or " wath," a Danish word still in daily use in the neighbourhood,

188.—A ROOM IN THE TOWER.

which was of some importance when the river was in flood, and made Yanwath at such times one of the crossing-places between Cumberland and Westmorland. The wooded height in the distance seen over the battlements is Penrith Beacon, where the last fire was lighted in the year of Culloden. It was visible both from Skiddaw and Carlisle. The battlements and chimneys of the tower are all good, the roof flat and of lead, and there are very neat stone water-spouts lineable with and of the same section as the moulding round the tower. The big tower is at one angle of what was a square of buildings (Fig. 184). One side, probably the least important, has gone, but the rest is almost absolutely *in statu quo ante*. The only alterations are those of Edward VI's time, which are quite recognisable even by the non-expert eye. You can stand in the old yard (through and across which the cattle and horses pass under the old gateway at morning and evening as of old) and see the whole place the same, even to the doors and iron

grilles instead of glass in some of the windows, as it was when men tramped across it in breast-plates and iron shoes, and the shepherd and cowherd went out to work with a bow in their hands and a leather and steel jack on their backs. The house was made safe by the simple plan of having windows, few and small, set right up under the eaves. There are hardly two of the same size (of the old set, that is), and a man could not squeeze through the solid stone plates. One "window" is a square-split cross, with peepholes at the ends; another a stone ventilator-like grille (one of the Yanwath iron grilles is quite famous in books of architecture); others are little portholes under the eaves, others square hatches. The doorway at the back is remarkable (Fig. 185). The door is still enriched with Gothic tracery. It gives on to the courtyard, which was only entered through its own strong gateway; so that accounts, perhaps, for the decoration of the door, and for its not having been burnt or smashed. But it is something very quaint and delightful to see the ordinary domestic business of what is now a large and prosperous farmhouse, the coming and going of the stores and tradesmen and servants and water-pails and the like, through the original Plantagenet door. The face which has the tower on the right is made up of the old great hall, next to which, as was usual, is the ancient kitchen, all in good order, and at the back a small watch-tower and battlemented platform called the horse-leads. The thick wall at this angle is carried up above the roof and battlemented on both sides, so that a warder could walk round and shoot along the flanks with his cross-bow. This is joined to the room below by a staircase, and overlooks the river, and guards the back entrance to the courtyard. It is said that over the gateway there was once a chapel. The great hall is, unfortunately, now divided up into smaller rooms, and the timber roof is covered by a ceiling. It would, however, be quite possible to restore the hall to its original form with very little trouble. In the sixteenth century it was very much altered, and doubtless improved in the matter of accommodation. By that date the descendants of John de Sutton and of Margaret de Somerie had been ennobled and were the Lords Dudley.

189.—THE TOWER FROM THE GARDEN.

In the reign of Henry VIII Thomas, the eldest son by the second wife of Edmund Lord Dudley, settled at Yanwath and married Sarah, the daughter and co-heiress of Sir Lancelot Threlkeld. So says Mr. Parker in "Domestic Architecture of the Middle Ages," whose admirable

plan is reproduced below. But it looks rather as if the house had in some way become the property of the Threlkelds, and that the son of Lord Dudley had married the heiress. In any case, he was rich, and is credited with the Tudor alterations. They consist mainly, as we have said, in enlarging the windows, although some work of the kind must have taken place earlier, since the hall windows, of which the southern one is a bay (Fig. 189), imply a fifteenth century date, and the whole hall, now cut up, may have been rebuilt or altered then. But the chief tower room was doubtless refitted by the husband of the Threlkeld heiress, who will have made the interior far more habitable and imposing, with good mantelpieces and panelling. The setting and surroundings of Yanwath must be borne in mind: up the valley tower the not distant mountains of the lakes and the gorge of Ullswater; southwards are Lowther Castle, its woods, and the great moors of Shap Fell; east is the rushing Eamont River, which the Lowther joins at Brougham Castle, and the two sweep on past crimson cliffs to the Giant's Caves and the Waters' Meeting at Eden Hall; then comes the Eden Valley, with its endless beauties down to merry Carlisle, while on the east the great wall of Cross Fell shuts the vale off from Northumberland.

GROUND PLAN,
YANWATH HALL WESTMORELAND

PLAN.

From Parker's "Domestic Architecture," fourteenth century.

PENSHURST PLACE, KENT

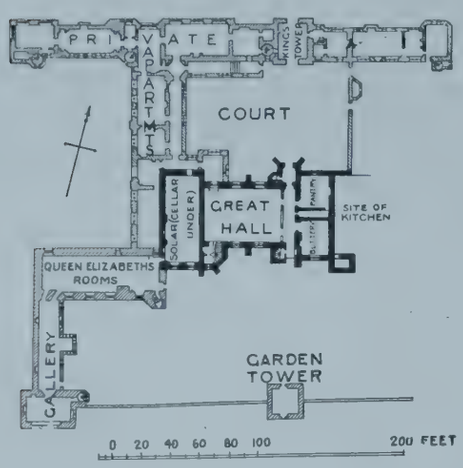
PENSHURST has a savour almost more enticing than is possessed by any other of our ancient country houses, and this arises from the very complex essence that engages the pleased senses by its varied titillations. Penshurst possesses very remarkable fourteenth century domestic features, including the unrivalled hall. The Renaissance additions of Henry and Robert Sidney and the fine reversion to formal gardening of the second Lord De L'Isle are full of interest and charm. It contains pictures and furniture of high æsthetic and historic value. It is sympathetic to us as the birthplace of Philip Sidney and the home of his famly. Fourteen of its owners and an infinite number of their relatives and guests were sufficiently distinguished in their own day to have found a place in the "Dictionary of National Biography," and thus it attracts as having been the resort of sovereigns, statesmen and literati. Its delights have been sung by many a poet, from Ben Jonson to Southey, and it was, and still in a measure is, the storehouse of one of the most prized collections of historical and family manuscripts. Here, then, is a house that arrests the attention of every educated Englishman, and it is a wonder that no thorough and comprehensive annals of the place and of its inmates, based on a careful survey of all available sources of information, have ever yet been published.

Penshurst Parish includes rich lowlands by Medway's banks, as well as timbered hills, and it must at an early date have been a fortified settlement as well as a woodland tract, for the family that held it in early mediæval times is called "de Penchester" rather than "de Penshurst." Of

190.—WITHIN THE COURT, SHOWING THE SOUTH SIDE OF THE KING'S OR ENTRANCE TOWER.

191.—THE LINE OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY DEFENCES.

them, Sir Stephen de Penchester alone crosses the stage of history. He is described to us as "a conspicuous and successful figure among the minor agents of Edward I's policy." Penshurst was not his favourite home, for, as we shall see (page 190), he bought Allington, near Maidstone, and, having obtained licence to crenellate it in 1281, transformed it into a place of strength. It was his principal seat and became the portion of the elder of his co-heiresses, while Penshurst fell to the younger. Yet, being the paternal estate, it was at Penshurst that he was buried in 1299, and in the church that stands close by the house his mutilated effigy remains.



192.—PLAN.

His younger daughter, Alice, became the wife of John de Columbers, and by their sons it was conveyed to John de Poultney, a Leicestershire man who sought and found fortune in London, of which city he was four times Lord Mayor. He played an important part in the commercial treaties and negotiations with Continental Powers during the first half of Edward III's reign, and was one of those rich traders from whom that King frequently borrowed money. He acquired lands and manors in various counties and in the City parish of St. Laurence, for which he did so much that it is called after him to this day. On his land there he built so grand a house that when he died in 1349 it became a residence of Prince Edward and remained to the Crown until it was pulled down in the last years of Elizabeth's reign. Penshurst, however, survives as an example of his fine habit of building. Kent was a favourite county wherein city merchants coming from more northerly and distant parts invested their gains in land. Thus, a century after Sir John's time, Lord Mayor Boleyn bought the neighbouring estate of Hever, although he preferred Blickling in his own county of Norfolk as a home, and did little to improve or enlarge Hever Castle. But Poultney, deserting Leicestershire, made Penshurst a noble place of habitation. He obtained licence to crenellate in 1341, and the chief portions of the mediæval work at Penshurst will date from that year, or those that immediately followed. Though he had leave to embattle, the place appears not to have been one of much strength. It is set on a bank well raised up from the Medway, and was not moated. It was a manor house rather than a castle, the central feature being a great banqueting hall. This followed the normal type of the age. It proclaimed itself from outside by its lofty roof, of which the gable ends rise well above the buildings attached to each end (Fig. 193). To the north a great porch, having a fine traceried window over its ample entrance arch, gave admittance to the passage behind the screens (Fig. 197). So wide was the inner arch that the great Gothic door, still retaining its old ironwork, that appears in the illustration, was only occasionally opened, a little wicket occupying—here as at Chalfield (Fig. 360)—the space of three of its lower panels being sufficient for habitual ingress. The passage behind the screens led to another door opening into what then would be an office court, but is now the upper terrace of the garden. To the left is an arrangement of three linked doorways, resembling that at Northborough (Fig. 179). The tall central one led to the kitchen, the side ones to buttery and pantry. The building that contained these latter offices with chambers above remains, but is no longer used for its original purpose ; and the kitchen, which will have been a detached building reached along a passage, as is yet the case at Gainsburgh (plan, Fig. 311), was finally removed about a century ago. With regard to the screen itself, it is no longer convincingly Gothic, the round columns that flank the two entrances being certainly of the same date as the heraldry and emblems of the Sidney family placed there by Henry or Robert Sidney, while the parapet is a modern replacement. The hall itself, however, is singularly little altered since the day when Sir John Poultney built it (Fig. 206). Its most remarkable feature is its width. To cover a wide space with a single span of timbering and to prevent such thrust as would throw down the walls was one of the problems of mediæval builders. A twenty-four-foot span is quite as much as we find in most fourteenth and fifteenth century halls. Of examples included in this volume, Chalfield is under 20ft. wide, Brinsop is 22ft., while Markenfield and Gainsburgh

are 27ft. Stokesay reaches 30ft., but Penshurst exceeds this by nearly nine feet, being only 6ins. less than was reached at Mayfield by Archbishop Meopham, who, planning on a grand scale a few years before Poultney was at work at Penshurst, gave a width of 39ft. 3ins. to his hall, the roof of which he supported with three great stone arches. At Penshurst the roof is entirely composed of oak and it was carefully repaired in 1910. The work was done under the supervision of Mr. William Weir, acting on behalf of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings. The condition of the roof was becoming almost dangerous, chiefly owing to leakage from the gutters having caused much decay of the wall plates and also to the ends of both principals and rafters. The massive interior cornice (which projects 18ins. beyond the wall face) was also decayed and dislocated. New wall plates of English oak had to be introduced, and the same material used where other portions were seriously decayed, while the free use of steel bolts and steel plates secured all other weak spots. The whole of the roof covering had to be stripped both where it was composed of Horsham stone and of red tile. New oak battens were then nailed on and the

193.—NORTH SIDE OF THE HALL.

old covering rehung with copper pins. That it now needs to be looked at closely to detect that anything at all has been done speaks volumes for the skill and judgment exercised by Mr. Weir in directing the work. But the illustrations (Fig. 205) showing portions of the roof before and after repair prove the extent of the change. As regards the character of the roof, the arrangement of collar beams and king-posts, or rafters and purlins ; the fine moulding of the wall-plate and other principal members ; the great size and vigorous treatment of the grotesque figures that form the corbels appear so clearly in the illustration of the hall that no exact verbal description is necessary. But the thoughtful designing that brought roof and gable windows into an exact composition should be specially noticed. Besides the gable windows the hall was, as usual, lighted on both sides. These windows are of great height, ample width and richly traceried in the typical Kentish manner of the time. To the north they were originally three in number, but the most westerly was afterwards blocked by a later building. It had lit the dais, but was

not (as it would have been if built in the fifteenth century) of oriel form. Facing the space it occupied are two arches. A little one, closed with a door, leads down to the undercroft of the building lying west of the hall. Mr. Parker thought the undercroft possessed an earlier character than the hall, but there is nothing in form or detail that definitely pronounces its supposed twelfth century origin. Central columns divide it into pairs of vaults, the groining at the ends resting on half columns starting from the ground, while that at the side springs from corbels some way up the wall. The window to the south is certainly not of very early date, but where a later building was added to the west the recess of a much narrower aperture is still visible. This undercroft, now divided into servants' hall and cellars, lay beneath the solar, which was reached through the greater arch of the hall dais and up a flight of steps winding round a special turret forming three sides of an octagon (Fig. 204). Both the interior and exterior appearance of this delightful arrangement are revealed by the illustrations. The windows are on irregular levels to suit the stairway, as also the vaultings of the roof. The stair is at

194.—SOUTH SIDE OF THE HALL.

least six feet wide, a very noble proportion for the fourteenth century. The solar is now called the ballroom, and was very largely renovated by the second Lord De L'Isle (Fig. 207).

This was probably the extent of Sir John's domestic building. There would be courts of office, outbuildings and some measure of enclosing and embattled walls, but the subsequent additions and alterations make it impossible to speak definitely as to their character and extent. Sir John used a local sandstone, such as the Tunbridge Wells district has continued to produce. It is of warm colour, irregularly stained yellow and brown with iron. The whole structure is therefore delightful in tone and texture, a certain amount of wear and crumbling having given much variety to the latter. In some cases, indeed, this process had gone so far as to call for replacement of the tracery of the hall windows. The original roofing material was, no doubt, stone tiles, and the lower part of the hall roof is still so covered, all the rest being now of the red baked tile that was introduced fairly early into Kent, where stone tiles were not native. A plate in Hasted's " Kent " shows a great louvre rising out of the centre of the roof. From its character this must be judged a replacement by the Sidneys of the Gothic original, but it is now

195.—THE WEST SIDE.

gone. Yet a chimney has never been built, and Penshurst, like Stokesay, is an example of the hall where the ancient central hearth remains. At Penshurst the hearth is an octagon 8ft. across, with a slightly raised stone edging. Within, the space is tiled like the rest of the floor of the hall, and on it stand the massive iron dogs—still Gothic, although not so early as Sir John Poultney's time—and the same may be said of the exceptionally fine and well known trestle tables that stand on each side.

Sir John Poultney died in 1349, leaving a boy eight years old as his heir. But when the latter died unmarried at the age of twenty-five, the estate went to his mother and then to his

196.—WHERE GOTHIC MEETS RENAISSANCE.

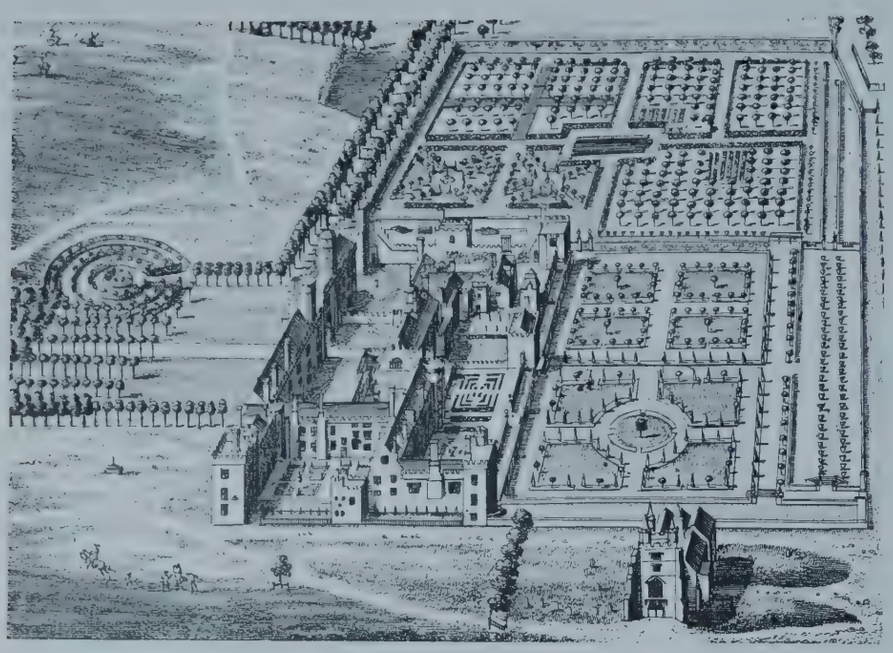
step-brother, Nicholas Lovaine. The latter's early demise transmitted Penshurst to his wife, who thereupon married Sir John Devereux, who in her right held Penshurst. We find this noted soldier fighting by Du Guesclin's side in Spain in 1366, but against him seven years later in France, when the English were losing the position that Cressy and Poictiers had gained them. Devereux could fight gallantly on the losing side and Froissart delights to relate his various feats of chivalry. At Navarette, where Du Guesclin defeated and captured him, he is described to us, by an eye-witness, fighting in the front rank with his banner displayed and his lance couched "while the arrows flew in clouds thicker than feather had ever flown before." It was after this that he came home and settled down as the husband of Nicholas Lovaine's widow and a favourite with Richard II, who made him his steward in 1385, summoned him to Parliament as a peer, gave him the Kentish post that de Penchester had held under Edward I, and bestowed on him the Order of the Garter in 1388. The disturbed state of the kingdom in the latter years of the reign evidently made Devereux anxious to strengthen Poultney's somewhat slight defences at Penshurst. He obtained a licence to crenellate in 1393. The detached tower now forming a garden house on the edge of the sunk garden has Elizabethan features, but its structure is certainly mediæval, and it may have formed one of the chain of outworks (Fig. 192) constructed by Devereux, who, however, died a year after he obtained leave to embattle. Meanwhile he had begun the massive building that rears its gables as high as Poultney's hall and lies next to his solar, from the south-west corner of which it is entered (Figs. 195 and 196). Parker at one time thought it a chapel, but afterwards concluded it had been a great hall over an undercroft, the hall being used to accommodate armed men in the manner of a monastic dormitory. By the Sidneys it was divided into two storeys, the roof rooms being lit by well designed stone dormers of their period, and, later still, as we see in the plate in Hasted's "Kent," the Gothic windows were filled with sash-barring, so that the present tracery is a conjectural replacement. It is held as probable that Devereux did not live to complete this building, and that afterwards, having been made fit for occupation by the first Stafford owner, it acquired the name of the "Buckingham building," which it retained, although the chief apartment contrived in it by the Sidneys was called after Queen Elizabeth, as the plan shows.

On the death of Devereux's widow, Penshurst passed to relations of her Lovaine husband, and by them was eventually sold to Henry VI's elder uncle, the Duke of Bedford. His own and his brother Humphrey's death brought the estate to the Crown, and Henry VI conferred it on his active partisan, the first Stafford Duke of Buckingham, who is credited with finishing Devereux's work. These Staffords, as we saw at Caldicot (page 80), and shall again see at Maxstoke (page 228), had not diplomatic temperaments, and the difficult times in which they dwelt brought them, one after another, to violent deaths. When Henry VIII beheaded the third and last duke in 1522, Penshurst once more came to the Crown. The King had become acquainted with the place only three years before. The duke was then still in favour, and had royally entertained his Sovereign at his Kentish house. Thornbury Castle was his favourite seat, and it is to his Christmas season there in 1507 that his surviving "Household Book" mainly refers, but among the three hundred and nineteen people of all grades who dined there on the Epiphany we find "tenants of Penshurst." It is certain that this great builder and noble entertainer would not have received Henry VIII at the latter place if he had not in some measure brought it into line with the advanced ideas of accommodation of his age. The windows of the building (Fig. 193) set against and blocking up the dais window of the hall are of the character usual in Henry VIII's time, and the long, narrow, dark bricks of which the upper part of its walls is composed resemble those then in use. Other portions of the brickwork at Penshurst may date from this time. The diapering with burnt ends and the moulding of the chimney-shafts seen on the section lying to the right of the entrance, or "King's" tower (page 188), are more in character with what we know of the third Duke of Buckingham's work than with what prevailed under Elizabeth, and, though the windows of this and other of the brick portions are of her date, they may have been inserted by Sir Henry Sidney in older work.

To his father, Sir William Sidney, Penshurst was granted by Edward VI in 1552. Unlike many new men of the Tudor age—the Spencers and the Russells, for instance—the Sidneys never employed the College of Heralds to deal imaginatively with their pedigree.

Indeed, both Sir Henry and his son, Sir Philip, rather belittled their own ancestry and deemed the connection with the Dudleys their "chiefest honour." Yet they were of good knightly origin, a William Sidney having come over to England from Anjou with Henry II and served as his chamberlain. The marriage of Nicholas Sidney, towards the close of the fifteenth century, with Anne Brandon made his son William first cousin to Charles Brandon, Henry VIII's favourite and brother-in-law. This relationship, as well as his own worth, brought young Sidney forward, and he held at the Court of the eighth Henry the same office that had been his ancestor's under the second of that name. But his career was active and varied. In the

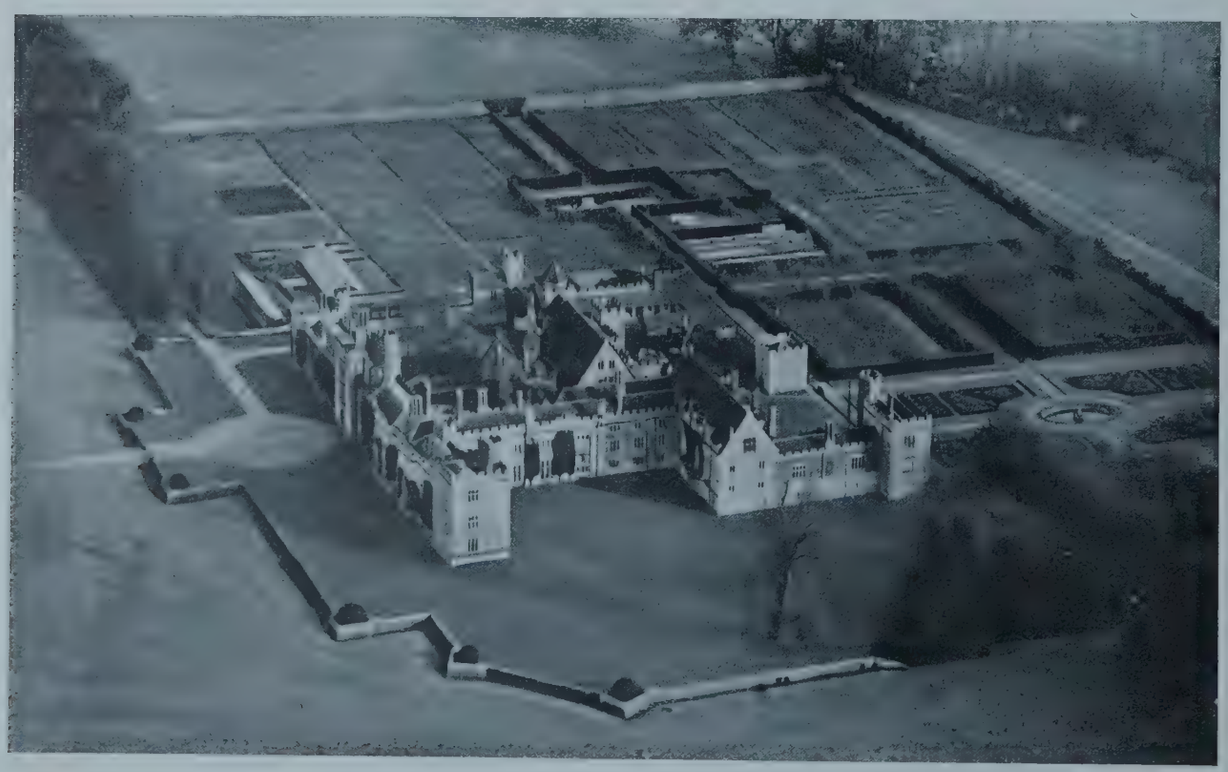
197.—FROM PORCH TO SCREENS.



198.—KIP'S VIEW FROM THE WEST.
Penshurst and its environment two hundred years ago.

spring of 1513 he fought against the French at sea, and in the autumn against the Scots on land, for he commanded the right wing at Flodden Field. His reward was knighthood and a grant of forfeited Yorkshire and Lincolnshire lands. These he exchanged, soon after he was appointed household steward to Prince Edward in 1538, for others in Kent and Sussex, and so Penshurst came to him as an apt addition. There, away from the feverish intrigues that festered round the young but dying King, he appears to have spent the last two years of his life, while his son Henry was risking his head. Born in 1529, he was, owing to his father's office, brought up with his future King, and he was so greatly in favour with Edward VI that the ambitious Earl of Warwick gave him his eldest daughter to wife in 1551.

Two years later, when Warwick had become Duke of Northumberland and had married one of his sons to Lady Jane Grey, we find Sidney appending his name to the will whereby Edward VI left the crown to that lady. No sooner, however, was Mary proclaimed Queen in July, 1553, than Sidney saw that he was on the losing side. He at once gave in his adhesion

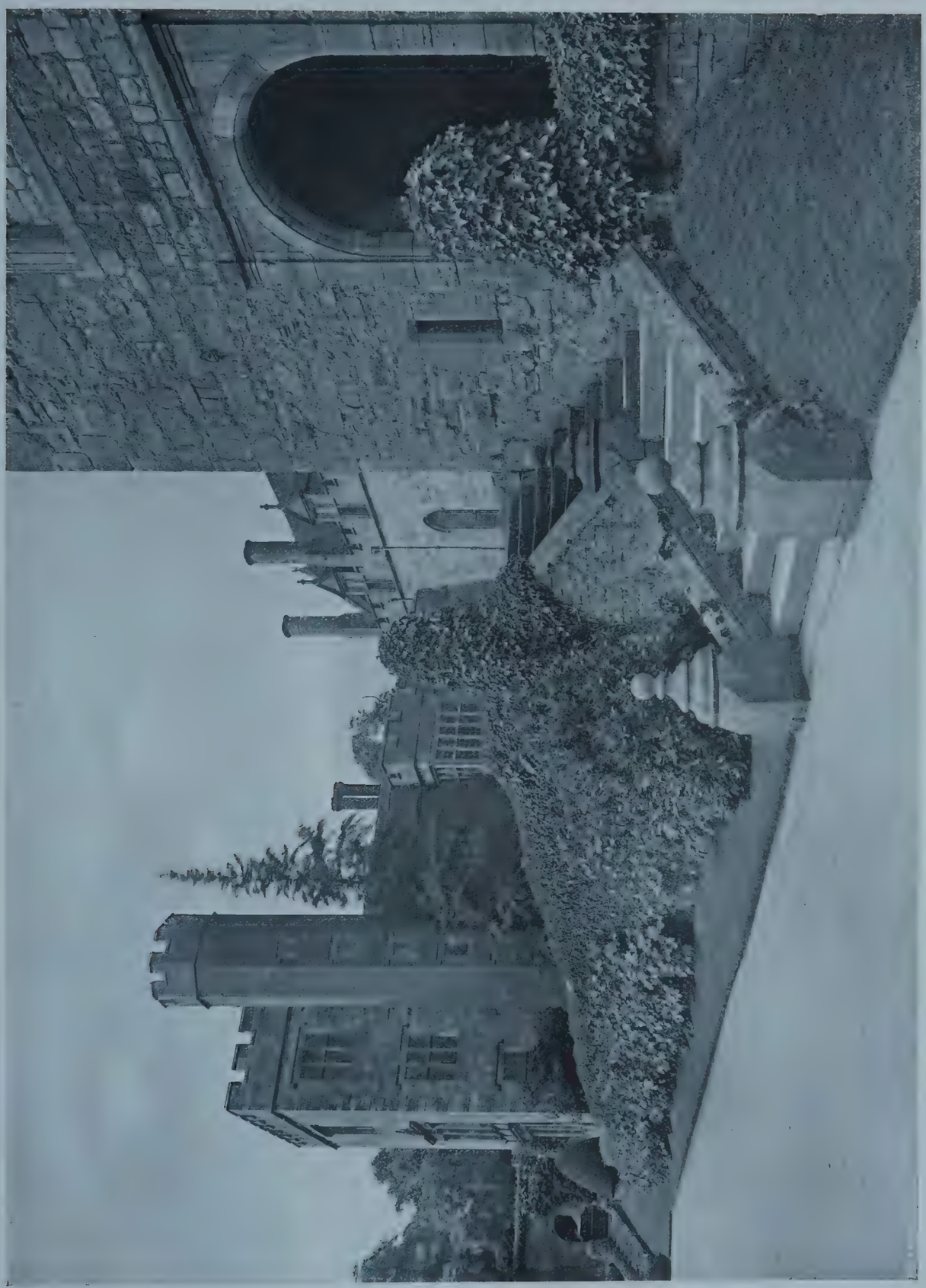


199.—ACTUAL VIEW FROM THE WEST.
Taken from an aeroplane.

to Mary and escaped the fate of the Dudleys. Though retaining his position at Court, he admits "that he was neither liking or liked as he had been." He soon won back some measure of favour by taking part in the negotiations for the Spanish match, so that, when his eldest son was born at Penshurst, shortly after old Sir William's death there in 1554, we find King Philip standing godfather to the future author of the "Arcadia," and giving him his name. Soon afterwards Sir Henry went to Ireland, and for a quarter of a century a considerable amount of

200.—THE NEW LILY POOL AND THE SOUTH-WEST TOWER.

201.—GATE AND TERRACE STEPS.



202.—ASCENT FROM THE SUNK GARDEN.

his time was spent in that disturbed country, which he thrice governed as Lord-Deputy. As from the time of Elizabeth's succession to his own death he was also President of Wales, holding court at Ludlow Castle, and as Elizabeth expected his and his wife's frequent attendance at Court when they were in England, Penshurst was a place of very occasional residence. Sir Henry retired there in 1567 when he came home from Ireland in some disfavour. The children, no doubt, were much there, and their mother whenever she could be spared. This she specially strove to be after she had nursed the Queen through the small-pox, and then was herself stricken with the disease.

203.—LOOKING THROUGH ENTRANCE ARCH TO HALL PORCH.

Such was the ill effect on the appearance of this "full fair lady" that she afterwards "chose rather to hide from the curious eyes of a delicate time than come upon the stage of the world with any manner of disparagement; this mischance of sickness having cast such a veil over her excellent beauty as the modesty of that sex doth many times upon their native and heroical spirits." It would seem that at this period little alteration was made at Penshurst. Sir Henry was always a poor man, spending more upon his Queen's service than the amount of his pay, and not possessing that faculty of obtaining large grants of land or acquiring wealth which was possessed by many of Elizabeth's chief Ministers, such as Cecil, Hatton and Walsingham. Thus, he refused a peerage on the grounds that he had not the means to support a title. Yet money was ultimately found to bring Penshurst, both in the matter of appearance and accommodation, somewhat into line with the great houses of the age. The year 1579—when additions were also made to Ludlow Castle—is put down as the date when most of this work was done, as it is on an inscription built into the north-west tower and also on a rain-water head near by. It was then, no doubt, that the line of buildings on the north side of the courtyard were largely rebuilt. All the original windows appear to be of this date, some that were afterwards sashed having been

renewed in neo-Gothic style in the nineteenth century. These appear on the right-hand side of the illustration (page 188). Next to that is the section of walling, part stone and part brick, the latter being diapered towards the top and culminating in two chimney-shafts beautifully wrought and delightfully toned by age, which Sir Henry may have found already standing.

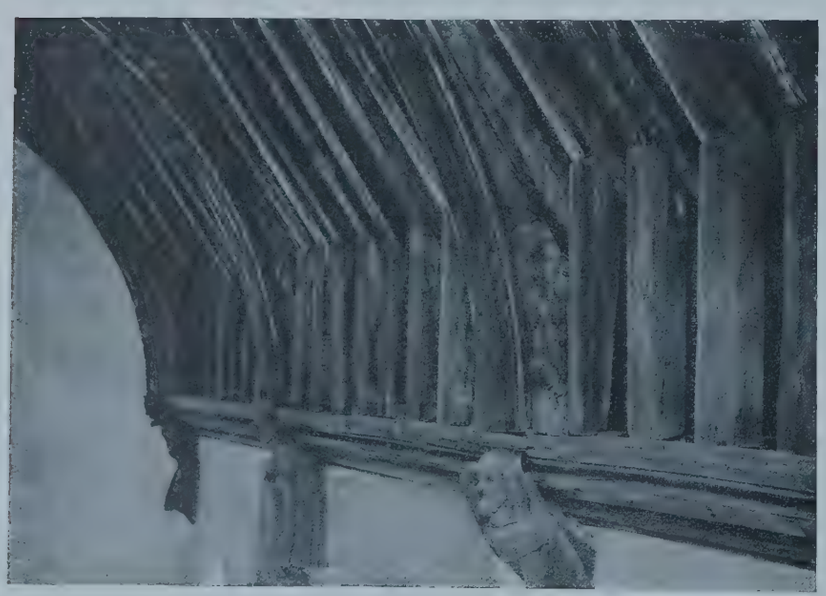
Beyond this is the three-storeyed entrance tower of stone. Above the round arched entrance are the arms of Edward VI (Fig. 203), and above them a tablet records how Penshurst came to the Sidneys through the gift of "the most Religious and Renowned Prince Edward *the sixt*," and ends with the words "Anno Domini, 1585." There is, however, evidence that Sir Henry dealt with other portions of the house at a rather earlier period. He was a good deal in England during the interval between his second and third periods of office as Lord-Deputy of Ireland, and to this interval belong rain-water heads at Penshurst bearing the dates 1574 and 1575. In connection with these dates we find the arms of Sir Henry and his own and his wife's initials. All are on that part of the west front which comprises the Devereux building and the brickwork of later date which lies on each side of it (Fig. 195). The latter Sir Henry will have built, while the former he divided into the rooms still called Queen Elizabeth's. It must, however, be remembered that the interior of Penshurst, except the hall and gallery, was subjected to much renovation in the nineteenth century, and that we have no exact knowledge of their appearance in Sir Henry's time.

204.—STAIRWAY FROM THE HALL.

Worn out in the service of his Queen and country, that able and upright soldier and statesman died in May, 1586, at the early age of fifty-seven. He was buried at Penshurst, where three months later his wife, who had been his capable and loving helpmeet for two-and-thirty years, was laid by his side. No son was present to close their eyes,

for both Philip and Robert were fighting under the banner of their uncle, the Earl of Leicester, in the stern tussle of the Hollanders against Spanish domination. Sir Philip Sidney, from the moment he reached man's estate and returned home from an educative Continental tour in 1575, had loomed large in the eyes of his countrymen—soldier, courtier and author, his varied talents, noble character, mental energy and bodily accomplishments had made him the young hero of the Court of Elizabeth and qualified him at the early age of twenty-three to head an important Embassy to the Emperor and German Princes. Throughout his short and full career he had scant leisure, and probably little inclination, for quiet country life, and even such time as he had for rural retirement was more often spent with his sister at Wilton than at his father's house. Penshurst, where he first saw the light, knew but little of him as a man and nothing as an owner. Four months after his father's death he was wounded on the field of Zutphen, and three weeks later he breathed his last at Arnheim. His brother, Sir Robert, was with him to the end, and then had to face the somewhat difficult task of finding money for his public funeral at St. Paul's, and for the payment of his debts as well as those of their father. Fortunately, in the year 1584, when he came of age, his position as son to the President of Wales had enabled him to marry privily, but without any ulterior consequences, Barbara Gamage, a young Glamorganshire heiress, for whose wardship and marriage many high personages had hotly wrangled. Even thus—such was the troubled state of his own inheritance—he does not seem to have been in easy circumstances until James was King. Then he felt able to accept the peerage that his father had perforce declined. Fifteen years later the barony of Sidney was merged in the earldom of Leicester, conferred on him as heir, through his mother, to his Dudley uncles. Much time was spent at Penshurst by him and his wife, who bore him not only the six children that appear with her in the great picture over the mantelpiece of the Queen Elizabeth room, but four others besides. A good deal was gradually done to give nobler accommodation and a more Renaissance character to the house. But it is difficult to say exactly where his father's work ended and his own began. The entrance tower on the north side was certainly built by the former, being dated a year before

205A.—THE HALL ROOF UNDER REPAIR.



205B.—THE REPAIRED ROOF.

his death, but its great doors—a fine untouched specimen of the wood and ironwork of the day—must have been added by Sir Robert, for in the top rail of the wicket may be discerned the letters "R.S." and "B.S.," his own and his wife's initials. The wainscoting of the long gallery must also be due to him (Fig. 208). It is reached through the second of the Queen Elizabeth rooms into which the Devereux hall, misnamed the "Buckingham Building," was divided, and occupies the first

206.—THE HALL.

floor of the long south-western projection that ends in the mediæval stone tower into which Elizabethan and Palladian windows were afterwards inserted (Fig. 200). The gallery wainscoting, as the illustration shows, is of Jacobean character and, as the Sidney arms on the mantelpiece are surmounted by an earl's coronet, it cannot date before 1618. But the fabric is earlier, and bears

evidence of having been largely reconstructed rather than new-built by Sir Henry Sidney. It is most likely that he found the Devereux defences alluded to already forming a curtain wall stretching from the south-west corner of the Devereux hall to the great corner tower, of which the south side is linable with the smaller one now used as a garden-room. By adding a brick storey to the curtain wall and by building a new brick wall parallel to it Sir Henry enclosed the interval, and made it, as well as the tower, part of the domestic buildings. For the service of the three storeys and of the flat roof of the tower he will have built a newel stair enclosed in the octagonal brick turret that rises on its east side, just as he did in the case of the quite similar north-west tower, which bears the date 1579 and a list of Sir Henry's offices and titles, but no direct reference to his having built or altered it. If tradition rightly assigns its first floor chamber, still lined with oak

207.—THE SOLAR, AFTERWARDS CALLED THE BALLROOM.

wainscoting, as the birthplace of Sir Philip, it must have been part of the domestic buildings before any of the Sidney alterations were made. With regard to the gallery, it would seem that Robert, Earl of Leicester, did no more than line the interior walls, while in the eighteenth century was introduced the finely wrought Venetian window with its columns and entablature rising above an open pillared loggia since filled in. The gallery is even fuller of family pictures than the other chief reception rooms of Penshurst. The well known picture of Philip and Robert as boys linked arm-in-arm hangs in the Queen Elizabeth room, but in the gallery is the portrait of the elder one by Zucchero, clad in armour and having reached man's estate. Here, too, hangs Sir Robert's wife, Barbara Gamage, and his sister, Lady Pembroke, "the subject of all verse," both painted by Gheeraerts, while his granddaughter, Waller's "Saccharissa," is depicted by Van Dyck as a shepherdess. There is some exceptionally fine English furniture

208.—THE GALLERY.

of the period of Kent and Chippendale, as well as Italian pieces, such as the stand of the spinet, displaying all the extravagance of the baroco style. From the same country, no doubt, came the earlier and infinitely finer cabinets of which one is illustrated (Fig. 209). This room has, fortunately, escaped the restoration which, though very creditably done, has detracted from the value of the other rooms as convincing documents of their period. A little careful treatment would not now be amiss in the gallery. Recently the grained oak paint has been removed and the woodwork strengthened and repaired where it was dislocated and decayed.

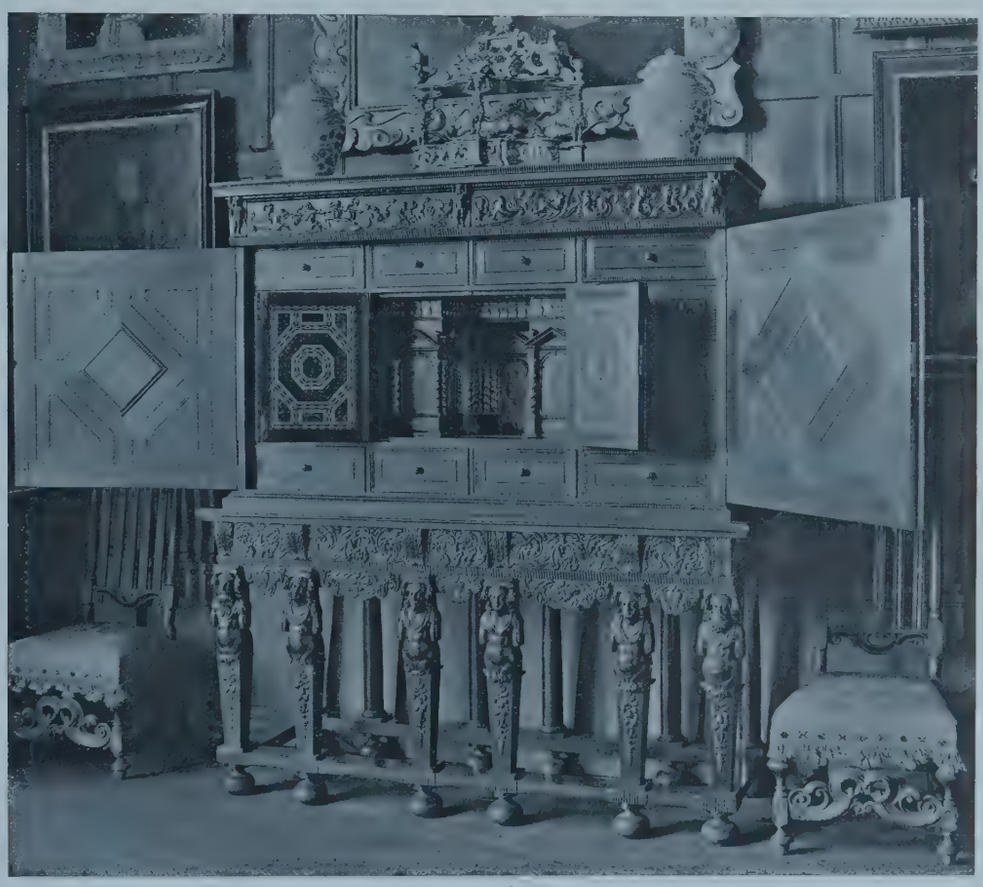
All the efforts of Sir Henry and Sir Robert fortunately failed, owing to their limited means, to destroy the grand fourteenth century flavour of Penshurst and to turn it into another Burghley or Hatfield or Audley End. Splendid as are these Elizabethan and Jacobean palaces, Penshurst is more precious still as a genuine survival of a notable example of mediæval domestic architecture, with later work so welded into it as to combine extreme picturesqueness with valuable lessons in the evolution of country house planning. Yet this was evidently not the view of it taken in the Elizabethan age. Its treatment was not then deemed based on conservatism, but a makeshift dictated by financial necessity, so that apology and excuse rather than praise and congratulation were felt to be needed. It was to Penshurst, no doubt, that Philip Sidney, in his "Arcadia," referred as a house "built of fair and strong stone, not affecting so much any extraordinary kind of fineness as an honourable representing of a firm stateliness . . . each place handsome without curiosity, and homely without loathsomeness . . . all more lasting than beautiful." Even after Sir Robert had wrought his improvements Ben Jonson strikes the same note when he penned the lines in "The Forest":

> Thou art not, Penshurst, built to envious show
> Of touch or marble, nor can boast a row
> Of polished pillars, or a roof of gold.

To him it merely "stood an ancient pile" to be "grudged at," if also reverenced, while only in the matter "of soil, of air, of wood, of water" was it to be accounted "fair."

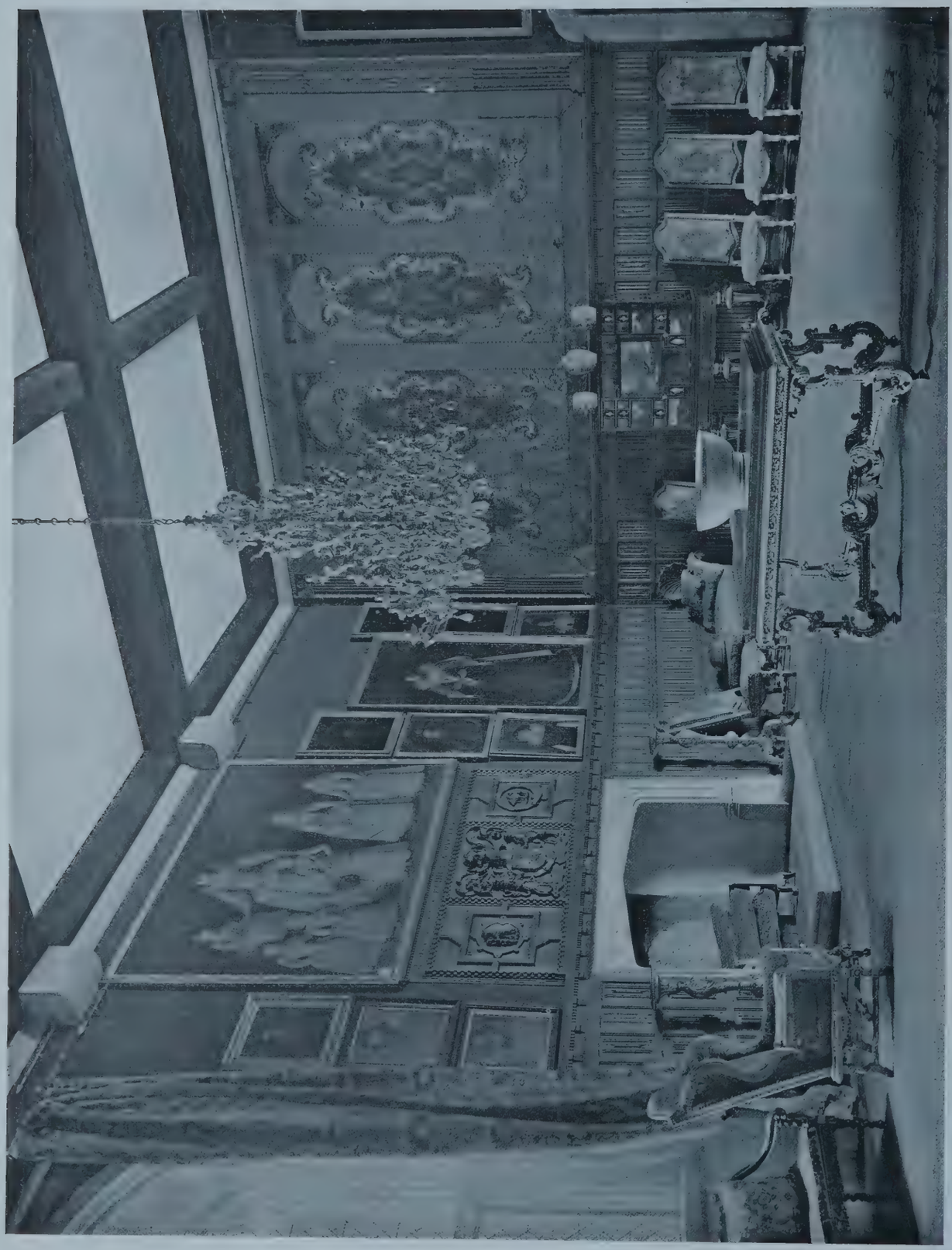
The post-Restoration earls did little to remove this opprobrium of a classic age, for, so far as the structure is concerned, there is hardly anything that we can definitely assign to them. But, as we have seen in the gallery, they added much sumptuous furniture, both Italian and English. Of the immense number of fine pieces distributed about the house some of the most striking are in Queen Elizabeth's room (Fig. 210). That name has led to a disposition on the part of various writers to conclude that the contents of the room are now much what they were at the time of the visit of the Virgin Queen to Penshurst, if, indeed, that visit ever took place. But the day-bed, the lampstand, the fine suite of chairs all belong to the closing years of the seventeenth century, and covering these chairs we find a small edition of the great panels of embroidered appliqué work that hang upon the walls. Of the same period is the gold and lacquered stand of the cabinet placed beneath this embroidery. It is of ebony with silver mounts and figures, and with panels painted by Dutch masters. The cabinet is older than the stand and is said to have been presented by James I to his new-made Earl of Leicester. Considering the large amount of the latter's correspondence among the Sidney papers published by Collins, it is rather disappointing that we get so few references to Penshurst, and that we are left so much in the dark as to the manner of his life there and the character and amount of his alterations. There survives, indeed, an account for £600 for the work he did in the picture gallery and for garden walls and stables. The fact that he spent so much time there really accounts for our knowing so little about it, for our chief source of information relative to his domestic affairs are the letters of his steward, Rowland Whyte, and these he mainly wrote from London to his master when he was abroad. So also are the letters of Barbara Gamage to her husband. The Welsh heiress, if she had a somewhat shrewish temper, was an excellent wife and mother and a keen manageress. She had her domestic troubles; a cook caused her "much discontentment by his intolerable obstinacy and malapert behaviour." A period in the stocks, to which Rowland Whyte confined him, soon brought him to a due sense of his duty. Nowadays those who dwell constantly in the country often experience difficulties in keeping their servants. Two hundred years ago the contrary was the case, and we find the complaint that "the servants from Kent will not

stay in London above three days and then they steal home again." Such little difficulties, however, did not mar the enjoyment of Penshurst, and Rowland Whyte writes: "My Lady takes great pleasure in this place, and surely I never saw a sweeter. All things finely prospering about it. The garden is well kept." Five years after her death in 1621 the earl consoled himself by marrying a Kentish widow, but four months later he died. His son and grandsons played a considerable part in the troublous times that were in store. Before the outbreak of hostility between King and Parliament, the second earl was Ambassador to Denmark and then to France. He left the latter country to succeed Strafford as Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, where he failed in his wish to prove a moderator between the two parties. His sons, Philip and Algernon, espoused the popular side, and both were appointed judges at the King's trial. Fortunately for their future, the elder did not act and the younger did not sign the judgment. On the other hand, the Parliamentarian leanings of the family saved the estates. The second earl had



209.—SOUTH-WEST CORNER OF THE GALLERY.

been sufficiently Royalist for them to be momentarily sequestered, but he retired from the King's quarters in 1644 and established himself at Penshurst, and there, a little later, two of the King's children resided for a year under the charge of his wife. Neither he nor his elder son was molested at the Restoration, but the pronounced Republicanism of Algernon kept him on the Continent until 1677. He then came home, plunged into English politics, and his connection with the Rye House Plot caused him to share Lord Russell's fate in 1683. Another brother, Henry, was young enough to avoid taking sides under the Commonwealth, and he did not follow the extreme course of his brother after the Restoration. He was thus able to assist in the Revolution of 1688, and was made Earl of Romney and Master of the Ordnance by William III. He used the family arms of a "pheon" as a mark on all Government stores to prevent their peculation, and this broad arrow has continued to be used to the present day. The second Earl of Leicester not only had three famous sons, but also a celebrated daughter. Dorothy Sidney spent her early days at Penshurst, and was still a girl when Waller, staying with his cousins at



210.—QUEEN ELIZABETH'S ROOM.

Groombridge, made her acquaintance, and was so struck by her charm that he immortalised her in verse under the name of "Saccharissa." She married Lord Spencer in 1639, who, unlike her brothers, was a strong Royalist and was killed at the battle of Newbury in 1643, three months after he had been made Earl of Sunderland. "Saccharissa" spent the first seven years of her widowhood at Penshurst, where the fourteenth century rooms over the porch and pantry became her apartments. They fell into complete disrepair, and the renovations of the second Lord De L'Isle came to an end just when this part of the building was reached. Hers was the last generation of famous Sidneys. Her nephew, the fourth earl, served as one of the lords of William III's bedchamber, and was the owner of Penshurst at the time that Kip engraved his plate of that seat (Fig. 198). This plate was of service to the late Lord De L'Isle when he wished once more to restore the formal gardens. The general disposition is the same (Fig. 199). The sunk parterre in front of the upper south terrace has somewhat similar divisions, though the middle one appears to have consisted of a tree rising from a grass circle, and not of the charming lily pool with central statue that forms the foreground of the illustration (Fig. 200).

211.—ALLEY THROUGH THE OLD ORCHARD.

But the oblong pool that still lies east of the house surrounded by yew hedges was there then in the midst of an orchard of which each section was divided by broad grass ways and hedged with yews much as we find them to-day. There are now fewer fruit trees and more flowers, but the old scheme has been reproduced and the old spirit preserved, as may be well seen by the picture of one of the broad grass alleys (Fig. 211). Although the sunk parterre had lost its pyramids and knots, the orchard lay-out reappears in the plate engraved by Vertue in 1747 and published afterwards in Hasted's "History of Kent." The earldom of Leicester was then extinct. The fourth earl had three sons who succeeded one after the other, and a fourth and youngest who died before his brothers, but left co-heiresses. After a good deal of litigation the ownership of Penshurst became assured to Elizabeth Sidney, the wife of William Perry, and it was for William Perry that Vertue engraved his plate—valuable as showing the condition in which Penshurst then was. Certain sash windows had probably just been inserted, for the date 1745 and initials "W.P." appear below the Venetian window on the south side. He appears to have had it copied from one at Pisa, and a sketch of it is among the Penshurst papers. Other portions of the house where he inserted sashes will have been

the centre of the west side and the projecting portion of the north front lying west of the King's Tower. These portions were reconstructed in full neo-Gothic manner by his grandson. His only surviving child was a daughter. She became the second wife of Sir Bysshe Shelley, and her son by him assumed the surname of Sidney, and was made Baronet of Penshurst in 1818. That is the date on the rain-water heads of the central part of the west side, the said water heads and pipes being very fair reproductions of the Elizabethan ones near by. His son married Lady Sophia FitzClarence, William IV's daughter, and hence the many interesting objects now at Penshurst that once belonged to that King. He created his son-in-law Lord De L'Isle and Dudley in 1835, which year appears in connection with a baron's coronet on the neo-Gothic work of the north front. He finished the task commenced by his father of largely rearranging and wholly redecorating the reception rooms and bedrooms used habitually by the family that occupy a considerable portion of the north and west sides. Dying in 1851, he was succeeded by Philip, second Lord De L'Isle and Dudley, who soon afterwards inaugurated a restoration of the then much-neglected fourteenth century house, having engaged for the purpose the professional services of George Devey, then a little known man. Although we may not to-day entirely agree with all they did, we must recognise that both architect and client were earnest seekers after better things and proved more thoughtful and conservative in their treatment of ancient structures than were most of their contemporaries. The work had progressed far when the Kent Archæological Society met at Penshurst in 1863, and Mr. Parker read a paper which was published in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of July of that year, and is a careful description of Penshurst by that excellent antiquary, aided by the invaluable knowledge that Devey had obtained during the course of his operations. To the solar was given back its hooded fireplace ; the framework of its western window, blocked by later buildings, was exposed and renovated, and the whole room once more assimilated to the period of its origin, the reopening of the squint into the hall not being omitted. The Queen Elizabeth rooms were likewise overhauled, and the sashes were removed from the windows and replaced by new tracery.

The whole of this Devereux building was in rather a shaky condition, and much of the west end had to be rebuilt, each stone being, as far as possible, replaced in its original position. Devey's collaboration with his client in the re-making of the formal gardens on the old lines, but with many variations and extensions of an exceedingly satisfying kind, must be proclaimed a positive triumph of garden-making, for, while it was among the first of such efforts, it remains to this day one of the best, as revealed by the bird's-eye view taken from an aeroplane which makes comparison so easy between to-day and two centuries ago.

THE NORTH FRONT.

ALLINGTON CASTLE, KENT

WE have just seen (page 168) how the owner of Penshurst obtained licence to crenellate Allington in 1281, but the site of his castle appears to have been continuously inhabited from prehistoric days. The existing moat obviously bears no relation to the Castle. It is doubtless the moat of an ancient British village. A Roman villa was built near to it on the west, and a wooden Norman mound-castle, like the early one at Carnarvon (page 84), was raised just outside it on the south. Both buildings imply the neighbourhood of a village within the moat. The Roman wall of London is built of Kentish rag-stone, which must have been conveyed by water. A barge descending the Thames with the tide to Sheerness and then ascending the Medway, likewise tide-borne, will come up against rag-stone *in situ* by the river bank for the first time at Allington. This is the nearest possible rag-stone quarry to London. The Tower of London is likewise built of rag, and there exists a strong local tradition in mid-Kent that the stone for the Tower was quarried out of the deserted quarry, now covered with wood, which is within the grounds of Allington Castle, close to the lock. If this tradition is as true as it is probable, the same origin may be postulated for the stone in London's Wall. The village will in that case have been the home of the quarrymen, and the Roman villa of the quarry-manager.

The hastily raised wooden castles of the Conquest were generally placed close to towns or villages. The village within the moat at Allington became the bailey of the Castle. The stockade which originally surrounded it was replaced by a stone wall; the oldest portions still remaining show herring-bone masonry as in Bishop Gundulf's towers at Rochester Cathedral. Perhaps Gundulf's workmen were employed at Allington, whose owner, Ansfrid, the Sheriff, was *dapifer* or steward to the bishop, and may have been his relative. Ansfrid's son or grandson, William De Elintona (Allington), built an adulterine castle within the moat, and in the year 1174–75 a payment is recorded in the Pipe-Roll "for overthrowing Allington Castle." Fragments of

212.—FROM THE NORTH, ACROSS THE MEDWAY.

this building can be traced included in the walls of the existing building, but not enough to give any idea of its plan. The Castle, having been dismantled, was replaced by a manor-house, of which considerable fragments remain, notably the rooms forming the northern half of the west wing. Parts of the gate-house and of the north wing and the foundations of the north-east tower seem likewise to be of this date. The bird's-eye view taken from an aeroplane (page 200) shows the general disposition as it came to be.

In 1189 William's daughter and heiress, Avelina, approaching the age of twenty-one, was a royal ward. As such she passed under the control of William de Longchamp, who, in the following year, became Richard I's representative during the King's absence on the Crusade. For less than two years he retained almost supreme power, uniting the offices of Chancellor, Justiciar, and Papal Legate. During that time he comfortably feathered the nests of his six brothers, Osbert de Longchamp being enriched by marriage with the heiress of Allington. He obtained other offices, got into trouble over his accounts with the King, and, perhaps, into other troubles, was fined a large sum, and died in 1208, leaving his widow to clear off his debts. She had also to pay a round sum to avoid a second marriage. Her payments went on year after year, with some intermissions. Her son William de Longchamp also had to contribute after coming of age in 1221, but it was the tenth year of Henry III before they were quit. Avelina was then fifty-five years old and had been paying off her husband's debts during twenty-seven years! She was still alive at the age of sixty-six. Her son William died in 1256 and was followed as owner of Allington by his son Osbert, who is described as "infirm." In 1279 he sold Allington to Stephen of Penchester, an eminent descendant in the female line from the powerful Belemeyns family through whom he inherited the manor of Penshurst. As Constable of Dover and Warden of the Cinque Ports he was important both in the defence of Kent against foreign enemies and in the administration of the law against malefactors, such as the 293 Jew coin clippers whom he condemned to be hanged and drawn asunder in the year of his acquisition of Allington. There, so soon and as the licence to crenellate was obtained, he began extensive building operations. The existing manor-house was battlemented and added to, the chief addition being the south half of the west wing and the tower traditionally known as Solomon's (Fig. 217). This joined, round the south corner, to the west end of what remained of the stone castle destroyed in 1174. Further on, about the south-east corner, old work and new merge vaguely into one another, but the immensely thick battlements remaining at the top of this part of the wall appear to be earlier in date than Stephen of Penchester. He probably built the kitchens (replaced by the Wyatts later) and the great hall, as well as part, at any rate, of the north-east tower and the north wing. The new Castle (Fig. 212) was not, however, entirely finished when he died in 1299, leaving two daughters —Joan, who, after certain financial transactions, carried Allington to her husband, Sir Henry de Cobham; and Alice, heiress of Penshurst. This Sir Henry was likewise a man of importance in the country, a lord of Parliament, Warden of the Cinque Ports, and so forth. His altar-tomb and effigy may still be seen in Shorne Church, apparently from the same workshop as the effigy of his

213.—LOOKING THROUGH THE ENTRANCE GATE.

214.—THE GATE-HOUSE FROM THE MOAT.

father-in-law, whereof Penshurst Church retains a broken fragment. The gate-house at Allington (Fig. 214) was rebuilt by Sir Henry, who included in it some portions of the walls of the earlier entry. These latter, belonging to the manor-house, include many stones of Norman workmanship, obviously fragments from the destroyed Norman Castle. He also dug a new length of moat, close under the north wall of the Castle, so as to provide a drawbridge before the new gateway. Part of the segment of the old moat thus cut off seems then to have been filled in. Sir Henry died about 1316, leaving Allington Castle practically complete as it stands to-day, except for the Tudor additions and alterations made after the purchase of the Castle and manor by Sir Henry Wyatt, a supporter and favourite of Henry VII. It is remarkable that instead of pulling down the old and now, doubtless, much dilapidated Castle and building a new Tudor house in its place, as was the general procedure of new men of wealth in early Renaissance days, Wyatt preferred to repair and adapt to contemporary conditions the well built work of his predecessors. He dealt freely with it, knocking in new windows and doors and enlarging old ones as he pleased. He rebuilt the kitchen, cleared away the remains of the south wing and divided the courtyard into two by the erection of a cross-building, with office rooms below and a long gallery above—apparently the earliest long gallery erected in England. He also built a porch before the entrance to the great hall and made a lady's bower above it, leading out of what must have been, and still is, the principal bedchamber. His principal work, however, was that of internal decoration. He panelled a number of the rooms and lobbies and produced so fine a result that the Castle could be described by Camden as "splendidas ædes." The years that followed were Allington's most distinguished age. Here Sir Thomas Wyatt, the poet, was born. Visits by Henry VII, Henry VIII, Cardinal Wolsey, Anne Boleyn and Katherine Parr are recorded; it is not hard to believe that many another great name of those days might be added had chroniclers been more copious. Seeing that Holbein painted the portraits of both Sir Henry and Sir Thomas and of the latter's sister, who became Lady Lee of Ditchley, it is not impossible that he, too, may have been a visitor. Sir Thomas Wyatt the younger, who succeeded his father, will be remembered, especially by readers of Tennyson's "Queen Mary," as the unwilling leader of the abortive Kentish Rebellion. When he was beheaded in 1554, his large estates escheated to the Crown, the Castle was used as a prison for local rebels, and before long we find evidence of neglect and ill-usage. It was probably now that a fire occurred which destroyed the north wing and the great hall and penetrated as far as the kitchen. Fragments of charred wood are still discoverable in the grooves for the attachment of panelling.

215.—GATE-HOUSE SEEN THROUGH WYATT DOOR TO PRIVY GARDEN.

In 1568 Queen Elizabeth granted the Castle and lands, as well as the palace at Maidstone, to the master of her jewel office, John Astley. He largely rebuilt the palace and lived there, abandoning the Castle. Early in the seventeenth century the latter was leased to John Best, who lived there for upwards of half a century. For or by him the Castle was drastically repaired. No attempt was made to replace the hall and north wing, which were left in ruins. The

216.—GENERAL VIEW FROM THE NORTH-WEST.
On the left is the gate-house; to the right the little Bath Tower is seen jutting out, and Solomon's Tower rises behind it.

217.—FROM THE SOUTH-WEST.
With Solomon's Tower in the angle.

accommodation thus diminished was compensated for by the erection of a half-timber gabled top storey upon the west wing, the gate-house and the kitchen (Fig. 219). To make way for this all except four of the embrasures were destroyed. A new gabled roof was likewise erected over the principal bedroom and the lady's bower. The Castle, thus disguised, is depicted in countless drawings and engravings, among them a group by Turner, which is in the Tate Gallery.

During the eighteenth century the Castle steadily deteriorated. In 1760 it was converted into a farmhouse. Not long after 1822 the long gallery was burnt down, so that only the ground floor remained. That was patched up again as a brewhouse. The buildings were divided about this time into two farmhouses. Farmer Fauchon occupied the gate-house and west wing, Gentleman Pack the remains of the east wing and the kitchen house. When Fauchon died, about 1840, the west wing was abandoned, the roof was torn off, floors and panelling removed, pavement wrenched up, the materials being used in building operations on the estate. Some of the very fine panelling and moulded beams may still be seen in farmhouses. Barns, oast-houses, a tar-paving manufactory and other disfigurements sprang up in front of the gate-house. A deep tram-line cutting was sunk between a quarry and the river. The land was neglected and given over to nettles, while ivy grew rampant over the Castle walls and was rapidly undermining them below and pulling them down above when Sir Martin Conway purchased the Castle in 1905 and began its rehabilitation.

A stone bridge crossing the moat gives access to the great gate. The machicolations above it rest upon the beds from which the originals were rent, and one original stone of the string-course remains high up in the turret to the right of them. The battlements and arrow shoots are copied from originals remaining along the west front. The wooden doors are of the same date as the gate-house itself. Entering under the archway, the remains of the twelfth century (Fig. 213) gate-house can be traced, and they are likewise discoverable in the polygonal foundations of the rounded turret to the left, where the added surface has fallen away. The door to the porter's lodge is on the right under the archway with the small window beside it, through which incomers could be inspected. The stocks into which Lady Wyatt put the Abbot of Boxley for flirting with her maids probably stood just outside the barbican. History also relates how, when Sir

Thomas Wyatt the younger was riding away to head the Kentish rebellion and meet his doom at the block on Tower Hill, his wife came to the gateway to bid him farewell, holding up to him his recently born baby to be kissed.

Originally there was but a single courtyard within the gate-house; now there are two divided from one another by the two-storeyed building with the long gallery which Sir Henry Wyatt built. An archway with Late Perpendicular mouldings leads through under the gallery. On the west side of the first court is a portion of the twelfth century manor-house with all its original windows replaced by Tudor insertions, but parts of the old windows remain built in. The coign-stones at the south end of this house are visible where Penchester built on his first additions, consisting of two guard-rooms on the ground floor and two rooms above them, the upper rooms being approached by a pair of outdoor stone staircases leading up to a porch. The lock-up for malefactors was under this porch. It is interesting for its brick vault, a use of this material in Kent at much the same date in the thirteenth century as Little Wenham was built (page 92). The

218.—DOOR FROM PRIVY GARDEN TO EAST MOAT.
Showing Solomon's Tower.

Allington bricks may be of Essex manufacture as the owners of Allington had a property at Stistead. They will be found used for the vaulting of all the windows and doorways in the part of the Castle built by Penchester. Attached externally to this group of rooms is the Bath Tower which contained garderobes. The rain-water drainage from the interior of the Castle flowed out beneath this into the moat by a stone drain still in good condition. One of the two above-mentioned staircases was destroyed when the gallery building was erected. It has been replaced beneath a modern roof and has become the principal indoors staircase in this part of the house.

The opposite, or east side of the outer courtyard was occupied by the still ruined banqueting hall, whereof the east and south walls remain and part of the west wall with its original doorway, and the porch outside it which Wyatt added. Beside the porch there remain the jamb and splay of a long lancet window, one of four which looked out into the courtyard. Two windows remain high up in the east wall, and there are the four stone doorways in the south which led respectively to a staircase, the buttery, the kitchen passage, and the pantry. There were likewise two similar doorways at the dais end and a big fireplace in the middle of each of the long walls, one of them still perfect. Behind the dais end of the hall was, to the west, the Great Chamber at the angle of the courtyard and a dark passage room east of it, from which Wyatt cut an archway, giving access to the privy garden (Fig. 215). Behind these rooms was the north wing of the Castle, containing very ancient fragments of wall. The Chapel of St. Leonard was upstairs on the first floor of this wing, occupying about three-fifths of the space between the gate-house and the north-east tower. The remainder of the space was filled by a tiny courtyard, giving light to the chapel's east window. Wyatt built over this little court, making a panelled room on the upper storey, probably the library in which his poems were written. A charming panelled lobby led on this same first floor into what must have been the principal guest-chamber in the north-east tower with another room above it, reached by a spiral stone staircase and a room below. These rooms had fine large fireplaces, and each was provided with a garderobe. Here was, doubtless, the lodging occupied by the kings, cardinals, and other great men known to have stayed with the Wyatts in the days of their prosperity.

219.—INNER COURTYARD : KITCHEN BUILDING.

Passing through an archway of the screen we enter what is now the dining-room (Fig. 223), occupying the space of the old buttery and pantry. Only the three lowest steps remain of the staircase which once gave access to the singing gallery in the hall. The original fireplace of the pantry exists, and there are many other original features—windows, paving tiles, and so forth. The door of exit gave directly into the mediæval kitchen, the form of which, its tall window and part of its fireplace, can still be traced ; but Wyatt rearranged everything hereabout, dividing the high room into two storeys and putting in a new screen with hatch, a new fireplace, oven, etc., all still remaining. Over the dining-room is the chief bedroom (Fig. 224), now as formerly ; it, likewise, preserves many original features, including the entrance door from the gallery. The arch of this doorway is Tudor, but the stone jamb bears the same mason's mark as on the thirteenth century stone-work of the hall screen.

Little need be said about the rooms in the west wing. Necessity has made those on the ground floor to lead passage-wise from one through another (Figs. 221 and 222), but no such necessity invades the privacy of those upstairs. The room over the gate-house is the finest and retains all its old features of doorways, windows and fireplaces. A necessary addition made at the south end of the

220.—DOOR FROM PRIVY GARDEN TO NORTH MOAT.

Showing St. Leonard's Tower.

221.—THE STONE HALL FROM THE INNER HALL.

ground floor of this wing is an extension of the Stone Hall, whereby the base of Solomon's Tower can be reached without, as originally, going to it through the open air. Its old staircase still stands and gives access to a first and a second storey with high and delightful rooms, each with its garderobe and with charming views through old slit windows in four directions, each window bay being provided with stone seats. This tower and the kitchen-house, built by Wyatt, form opposite sides of what is now the inner courtyard, the gallery building and the curtain-wall forming the other sides of its small parallelogram. In the latter there remains a huge fireplace large enough to roast an ox ; it belonged to one of the rooms removed by Wyatt. The principles which Sir Martin Conway laid down as guides to his renewals and renovations

222.—STONE HALL AND INNER HALL.

223.—DINING-ROOM (ANCIENT BUTTERY AND PANTRY).

224.—GREAT BEDROOM OVER DINING-ROOM.

were these : To preserve and manifest every ancient feature ; to follow the precedent set by previous owners during the last six centuries, viz., to retain perfect freedom to make new doors, windows, staircases, and the like features wherever they were needed, but in so doing to manifest their modern date ; to endeavour that new and old should so harmonise as to attain a beautiful result ; and, finally, to make the place into a thoroughly warm, dry, light, and comfortably fitted home.

Much of this had been accomplished, and work had been put in hand for the great hall and a part of its exterior wall repaired when the war came and unnecessary work had to be stopped. It is greatly to be hoped that before long it can be resumed, but what has been done will preserve for future ages the main part of a most interesting mediæval building, most of which, but for Sir Martin's intervention, would have disappeared within less than a century.

BIRD'S-EYE VIEW TAKEN FROM AN AEROPLANE.

LEEDS CASTLE, KENT

MOTORISTS driving along the road from London to Folkestone, perhaps the most frequented motoring route in England, may catch a momentary glimpse through an opening in a pine wood of the loveliest castle, as thus beheld, in the whole world (Fig. 229). It rises, shapely, majestic, and serene, from two islands in the midst of a lake, the battlemented Gloriette in front and the later house behind, both reflected, it may be, in the calm waters, themselves set like a pale jewel in the green and golden slopes of a lovely park and embowered in secular trees that come close to the road and enframe this enchanting vista. Wonderful in manifold glories are the great castle visions of Europe. Windsor from the Thames, Warwick or Ludlow from their riversides, Conway or Carnarvon from the sea, Amboise from the Loire, Aigues-Mortes from the lagoons, Carcassone, Coucy, Falaise, Château

225.—THE GATE-HOUSE AND CONSTABLE'S LODGINGS.

Gaillard from various points, nay, even Chenonceaux from the Cher, beautiful as they are and crowned with praise, are not comparable for beauty with Leeds, beheld among the waters on an autumnal evening when the bracken is golden and there is a faint blue mist among the trees and the sky beyond it glows with colour.

Presumably, if we could follow the history of the site into the dim vistas of the past, we should find it occupied by a succession of fortified settlements, for Nature has marked it out as a place of easy defence against men without guns. Not, however, till after the Norman Conquest have records anything to say about it. It was granted to Hamo de Crevecœur shortly

226.—THE GATE-HOUSE AND BRIDGE.

227.—GATE-HOUSE AND BRIDGE FROM THE SOUTH-WEST.

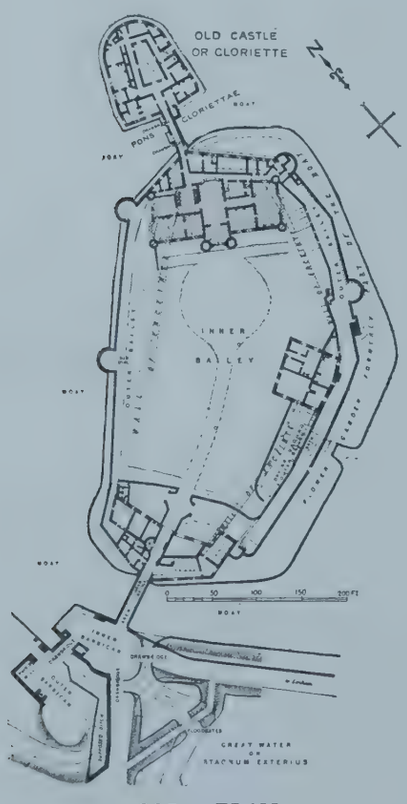
after the disgrace of Odo of Bayeux, and his nephew Robert de Crevecœur began building a castle here, which his grandson Robert finished in the days of Richard I. Of this castle no identified remains exist. A third Robert de Crevecœur was compelled to exchange Leeds with Roger de Leyburn for other lands, and Roger's son William (as, no doubt, had been previously arranged) turned it over to Edward I somewhere between the years 1272 and 1279. It thus became and, till the time of Edward VI, almost continually remained a Royal castle, so that its history might be followed in much detail in the Pipe Rolls.

228.—FROM THE WEST.

229.—"STEEPED IN MIST SOFT AS SLEEP ITSELF."

230.—WEST SIDE OF THE GLORIETTE (ON THE LEFT) AND OF THE 1822 HOUSE.

The oldest now definitely dateable parts belong to the time of its acquisition by the King, though portions of the structure must be anterior. Edward presented it to Queen Eleanor, and, after her death, to his second wife, Margaret. It also belonged in turn to the Queens of Edward II, Henry IV and Henry VI, but after the death of Catherine of Valois it reverted to the Crown, and the use of it was granted from time to time to successive servants of the King, such as Ralph St. Leger of Ulcombe and Sir Thomas Bouchier. In the great days of the Plantagenets Leeds was the scene of many a noble assemblage of princes and knights. Once only do its annals speak of the clash of arms at its gate. That was in 1321, when Edward II had to besiege and take it that his Queen, "the she-wolf of France," might obtain entry to her own. In the days of Richard II that admirable chronicler, Froissart, spent four days there, bringing with him a book to offer to the King. In 1416 Leeds was visited by Sigismond, "Emperor of Almayne," on his way from London out of England, after a brief visit to Henry V.



231.—PLAN.

After a period of relative neglect, Henry VIII cast a favouring eye upon Leeds. He appointed as Constable Sir Henry Guildford, K.G. (known by his Holbein portrait), "a lusty young man and well beloved of the King," and under his oversight a large expenditure was made. But this period of renewed Royal favour was short, for Edward VI, in 1551–52, granted the castle and neighbouring abbey to Sir Anthony St. Leger of Ulcombe (an ancestor of the Dukes of Rutland and Leeds), whose grandson exchanged it, early in the seventeenth century, with Sir Richard Smith, a near relation of his wife. The Smiths, in the third generation, sold it to Sir Thomas Colepeper, but, though holding it for but a short time, they left their mark on it by converting the principal lodging into a fine Jacobean residence, now utterly vanished away.

232.—THE GLORIETTE TOWER.

233.—THE TOWER OF THE GLORIETTE AND THE BRIDGE "PONS GLORIETTÆ."

The Colepepers in those days were a family ubiquitous in Kent; four different branches of Colepepers owned great estates, which have all passed out of the hands of their descendants, the name no longer surviving in the county. The sons of Sir Thomas sold Leeds to their cousin, the first Lord Colepeper, who was one of the most confidential advisers of Charles I. He attached himself to the Prince of Wales in his adversity, conducted him in safety to France, and remained with him in exile, so that Leeds can have seen but little of him. The second Lord Colepeper was Governor of Virginia (1675), where he obtained a vast estate. His only daughter was married to the fifth Lord Fairfax, to whom she conveyed estates in Kent, Yorkshire, and Virginia. He died in 1709. The sixth lord emigrated to Virginia, but his

brother, the seventh Lord Fairfax, lived at Leeds, received George III there, and made extensive alterations in the place, which did not please Horace Walpole. "The Fairfaxes," he wrote, "had fitted up a pert, bad apartment in the fore part of the Castle. . . . They had a gleam of Gothic in their eyes, but it soon passed off into some modern windows and some that never were ancient." In laying out the park he had the help of "Capability Brown," and the result, as seen to-day, is very beautiful. The eighth lord was an American clergyman, cousin of the seventh, and the title abides in his descendants, but the property passed to the daughter of the seventh lord. She married the Rev. Denny Martin, representative of an old Kentish family seated at Loose.

General Philip Martin was the next owner of Leeds, where his hat still commemorates him. It is the hat he wore at the Siege of Gibraltar, and from which a cannon-ball took off the cockade. He died in 1821, and, having no near relatives with Colepeper blood, he left Leeds and £30,000, to be spent in restoring the castle, to Mr. Fiennes Wykeham, who was his only relation on his father's side. Mr. Wykeham changed his name to Wykeham-Martin, and duly

234.—REFLECTIONS.
Showing the east side of the Gloriette.

spent the £30,000, in a manner presently to be described. His son Charles succeeded him in 1840, and piously recorded all the foregoing and many other facts connected with the history of the castle in a fine quarto volume, published in 1869 and illustrated with some excellent photographs, which, in some copies, at any rate, retain their sharpness to the present day and have not faded. His son is Squire of Leeds to-day, and in him the ancient castle has a pious protector.

He that would enter the Castle of Leeds must come by one of three ancient roads, proceeding respectively from the directions of the villages of Leeds, Lenham, and Hollingbourne. The three ways unite at the barbican, which casts forth a separate drawbridge to each of them. This barbican, which includes a mill, is one of the most interesting fragments of mediæval military architecture in England. Unfortunately, it is much ruined, besides being clad with ivy and overgrown with trees, so that many details are lost and more are hidden. It was traversed by three ditches, through which passed the waters of the Len, and it stood between the existing lake and the ancient and larger Great Water or Stagnum Exterius, which is now dry. The three drawbridges, each with gateway and portcullis, gave access to a small central space, whence the main bridge started that led to the great gate-house (Fig. 225) on the larger island. Before the drawbridges were reached, however, there were other outer defences to be passed, of which we read details in the Royal accounts. The mill was part of the outer defence beyond the west drawbridge. Of it there are considerable remains. The pit which contained the wheel exists, and so does the channel which brought water to it, as well as part of a newel staircase conducting to the roof. The position of the two floors can be determined, so that it is possible to reconstruct on paper the whole little edifice. Fortified mills, though rare in

235.—THE CONSTABLE'S LODGING.

236.—THE CONSTABLE'S LODGING, INCLUDING THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY STABLE.

England, are not uncommon in France. Viollet Le-Duc (article " Moulin ") states that they were specially common in Guienne, where they were erected during the time of the English domination. The examples he cites are more elaborate than this at Leeds, which probably dates from the time of Edward I.

The main bridge (Fig. 227) to the gate-house recalls the names of Aymer de Valance and Evelyn (of the " Diary "), the former having damaged it with the weight of his military train, the latter having repaired it centuries later. Its inner arch was originally open between the parapets for the pit of the drawbridge. The great gate-house is the central portion of a considerable mass of building (Fig. 235) which retains more ancient features than the other divisions of the castle. The archway is surmounted by stone machicolations made to carry wooden hoardings. These machicolations were inserted at an uncertain date into earlier work. They may be of the time of Richard II, when new portcullises were paid for. The actual entrance passage is remarkably unaltered. The low gateway retains its massive gates and the usual portcullis groove. There is a porter's cell in the thickness of the side wall, traces of another pair of gates further on, and a stone seat against the wall beyond that. It faces the foot of a newel staircase that gives access to the upper storey, where the Constable had his lodgings. On the right side of the entrance passage are the stables, with interesting and well preserved seventeenth century fittings (Figs. 240 and 241). It is probable that there always were stables in this building. On the left side were cellars for provisions for the soldiers, their kitchen, and other chambers. The central apartment upstairs was the Constable's room, retaining its original door. It lies between two guard-rooms and behind the room from which the portcullis was worked. All this part of the castle was altered in the time of Edward I. It appears to have been built perhaps half a century earlier.

Having passed through this building, the visitor emerges into a fair open space with a central lawn covered and shaded by the last of some great cedars of Lebanon, of which, till recently, there were four, but, like others planted by Capability Brown, they have reached the

end of their normal life span. On the right of this open space is situated the Maidens' Tower (Fig. 238), of which more anon. The left side is open to the lake. At the far end is the modern house. All this, of course, is a purely modern arrangement. In Royal days the main island was the principal fortress and was surrounded by two roughly parallel lines of enceinte. The outer, which still exists in its lower part, rose, and on the west side (Fig. 228) still rises, from the lake. This great wall was, no doubt, surmounted by battlements, which have been cut away down to the level of what is now merely a waist-high parapet. It was strengthened by five great bastions. All but one of these have been cut down to the same level as the wall ; they were built with an upper storey containing a chamber of commodious size, each with a fireplace and garderobe. The flat back wall of the one that survives is built of half timber, and the roof is conical. There is good reason for believing that this outer wall of enceinte was added by Edward I. Part of the same work, on the east side, is a very interesting building, now used as a boat-house, but built for a bath. It was constructed in 1291–92, and payments for it—" Balnea Domini Regis

237.—THE REED-GROWN BANKS.

apud Ledes "—are entered in the Expense Rolls of the executors of Queen Eleanor. Lead, for the Reigate stone, and pavement are separately entered, and it has been shown that the hundred Reigate stones, each 2ft. square, which were supplied, exactly suffice to cover the area of the bath. The stones themselves are gone, but the imprint of them remains in the mortar. There was also an upper chamber with a private way of access from it to the bath. Very few ancient castles retain their baths. There is one at Cooling, which has never been properly studied and is now on the point of ruin, but that is not a swimming bath, like this at Leeds.

Within the outer enceinte was an earlier line of walls, now altogether destroyed, except for the foundations, which have been traced and are marked in the plan (Fig. 231). This wall may have belonged to the bailey of the Norman castle. Where, however, that building actually stood or what was the nature of its plan can only now be conjectured. Mr. Wykeham-Martin states in his book that the whole of the main island is a labyrinth of foundations, but as no systematic excavations have been made, nothing more is known about them. In Edwardian days it is evident

238.—THE MAIDENS' TOWER.

239.—THE EAST SIDE OF THE 1822 BUILDING.

240.—THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY STABLES.

that what may be called the Palace buildings, with the great hall, the kitchen and the larger chapel, were situated at the north end of the main island. The kitchen adjoined the bridge of the Gloriette (Fig. 233)—" juxta pedem pontis gloriettæ "—and was still standing in 1821, as an old print shows. West of it there were also standing, to the full height of their apparently thirteenth century battlements, certain walls, probably belonging to the hall ; but all these were utterly swept away when the new house was built, and neither plan nor record of them has survived. The great chapel has likewise entirely disappeared. Here it was, in 1413, that Archbishop Arundel summoned Sir John Oldcastle to stand his trial for heresy, and excommunicated him when he did not appear. Not impossibly the Maidens' Tower occupies its site.

The new building (Fig. 239) which replaced the remains of so much that was historically so precious is already nearly a century old. It was matter of modest pride and solid satisfaction to its builders. Who was the architect is not recorded, but the advice of that admirable draughtsman Mr. W. Twopeny was attended to, and he it was who designed the staircase. Nowadays it would not have been thus built, neither would it have been the same if built in the eighteenth century. An earlier generation would have swept away the old and built a Georgian house in its place. In the present day whatever old work had survived would have been incorporated, if possible, unchanged in the new. In 1822 they took a middle course : they swept away the old, but they attempted, in erecting a new building, to make it harmonise with its ancient surroundings. In form the new building is a rectangular parallelopiped, like any other Georgian house. On to this various turrets are patched, and its sky-line is embattled. The windows are practically copied from original ones of Henry VIII date near by. The result is a building obviously of the eighteen-twenties, as it should be. It is open enough to criticism, but it possesses one great and, indeed, sufficient merit : it enters perfectly into the general complex of the whole. From whatever side of the castle you look, the whole is a vision of beauty unmarred by this bold nineteenth century addition. The enchantment of the whole is upon this also. It strikes no false note and yet it makes no pretence to be other than what it is. Far more learned and even, in an artistic sense, finer work might easily fail in the essential quality where the builders of 1822 undoubtedly succeeded.

241.—THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY STABLES.

The Gloriette, or Old Castle (Fig. 232), occupies the whole area of the smallest island, which stands out in the middle of the lake. The walls all round rise directly from the water, and are mirrored in it from every point of view (Fig. 234). The

only mode of access is by means of the two-arched bridge of two storeys, connecting the two islands and either storey of the buildings on each, entitled, as we have just seen, "Pons Gloriettæ" in the old accounts. It was considerably altered when the new house was built. Each storey originally was protected by two drawbridges, probably not, as now, enclosed under a roof. The walls were only of lath and plaster, and the Jacobean roof, shown in an old print, was tiled. Only the great pier and arches of the existing structure can, therefore, be original; but here, again, the architect of 1822 designed a feature which is essential to the present fine effect of the whole building when he replaced the drawbridges by the existing embattled structure. The inner island is entered through what is the basement arch of a tower, of which the top storey is modern. It contains a bell dated 1435 and ornamented with representations of the Virgin and Child, the Crucifixion, and St. George and the Dragon. On this bell the curfew is still sounded every night at eight o'clock. There is also an ancient clock which strikes upon this bell, and which is said to date from the fifteenth century, but some of the working parts have been renewed.

The Gloriette, as a whole, is obviously a building of two periods, the lower storey being substantially Edwardian, the upper erected by Henry VIII. It seems probable, however, that this was the side of the Crevecœur Castle erected early in the twelfth century, and that the substructure may date from that period. The commonly received opinion is that the Norman castle occupied the site of the modern house, one reason given being that the massive cellar existing under it was of Norman date. It is, however, evidently Early English. It is hewn out of the solid rock in the form of a long pointed vault. Incidentally, it may be mentioned that it contains many wonderful old wines. There are, for example, several bottles, still containing liquid, which were left by Lord Colepeper in the days of Charles I, and there is a bin of 1797 port, buried, with full authentication, by Fiennes Wickham, and rediscovered later. If, however, this cellar did not belong to the Norman castle, there is no reason for concluding that that castle was built anywhere else than on the most attractive and easily defensible site, the inner and least accessible island. In that case it would, no doubt, have been of the nature of a shell keep, and its substructure might still be revealed by excavation.

242.—FIRE ARCH, *temp.* HENRY VIII.

The interior of the Gloriette was much injured by the fire caused by the Dutch prisoners in 1665, but the reconstruction of 1822 altered it far more seriously, so that now little remains that can be identified with the time of Henry VIII, still less of Edward I, except windows and a few walls. The nineteenth century builders removed doors and fireplaces from one place to another, so that the old features that survive often occupy quite new positions. At this time a gruesome discovery was made in one of the walls of the upper storey. It was found to be hollow, and in the space thus included was the skeleton of a man who had evidently been walled in alive, with a little jug of water which was found with his bones. A similar discovery was made at the Friars at Aylesford, a few miles away. Let us hope this was not a common Kentish custom.

Immediately on the left hand of one entering the Gloriette from the bridge is the old chapel, which retains many of its original features. This was not, of course, the principal chapel of the castle, which must have been large, but merely a private chapel for the King. Adjacent to it

were two little chambers for the priest who served it. The chapel has four windows, forming a peculiar assortment, of which the latest is not later than the fourteenth century. One is a tall, slender lancet ; the next is a low and rather wide opening, like a " low side-window," but as it gives directly on to the lake it cannot have served any of the purposes which have been suggested for low side-windows. The others are a pair of tall two-light windows (Fig. 243) with elaborate tracery, but almost all the stonework is modern, though the frames are original. All these windows reach down to the present floor of the chapel, which can scarcely be at the original level. A pair of blocked-up Henry VIII windows higher up, now useless, show how the floor-levels have been changed hereabouts at different dates. This, indeed, is true all round the Gloriette, where windows of different dates are patched about at all sorts of levels. Important features on the lake front to the west are two large bay windows of the time of Henry VIII, one above another (Fig. 230). That on the lower floor and another window to the south of it used to light the private banqueting hall of the King, a moderately small apartment. The great hall must have been on the larger island, partly over the cellar and near the great kitchen. There was a smaller kitchen in the Gloriette near the small hall, and the situation of this can be identified. The small hall is now divided into two rooms, of which the larger is the modern kitchen, one of the most attractive rooms in the castle. The room over it was the Queen's room, but whether that extended over the whole of the hall or was of its present dimensions is uncertain. It retains a Tudor fireplace (Fig. 242), whereof the spandrels bear the arms of Lancaster on one side and the Castle of Castille and pomegranate of Arragon on the other, so that it must have been made before the disgrace of Queen Catherine. The iron fire-back has the arms of George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, whose portrait and that of his wife Mary, daughter of the third Lord Fairfax, the General, are in the dining-room of the modern house. The story is told that this lady, arriving at the castle and surprising her husband at table with certain light company, said to him : " My lord, I will not abide under this roof with these ladies." To which he answered: " Therefore, madam, have I ordered your chariot to carry you forthwith to your father." The story continues that the irate Fairfax shortly after arrived and " took such order " with the erring husband that the

243.—A WINDOW IN THE CHAPEL, *temp.* EDWARD I.

like should not occur again. One has only to look at the portraits of Fairfax and Buckingham, here hanging on the walls, to realise which would prove victorious in such an encounter. One fairly complete and two roughly replaced Edwardian windows of the Gloriette remain, but it is impossible to say what kind of rooms they lighted. All the rest of the windows of the lower floor and all the windows of the upper are of the time of Henry VIII. Probably the Edwardian Gloriette had no upper storey at all; that was entirely added in Tudor times. The great hollow buttress at the north-east angle, opening at the bottom to the water, if an original feature, has been much restored. It is reached above from the present billiard-room and has been used for drawing up water, though whether this was its original purpose may be doubted. Further round to the west comes a sally-port, giving on to the lake and reached by a stone staircase. But in the chamber now known as Henry VIII's is a great early eighteenth century bed (Fig. 244) upholstered in light yellow silk.

244.—AN EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURY BED.

Of ancient furniture belonging to the castle practically nothing remains. The richly carved panelling (Figs. 245 and 246), now used as overmantel in the smaller modern dining-room, is sixteenth century work, brought here at the time of the castle's restoration from Chacombe Priory, Northants, which came into the family by marriage in the eighteenth century. Various meanings have been attributed to these heads, whereof five are of women, as that they represent the Apostles, the benefactors of the Priory, and so forth. They are probably purely decorative and of the type—derived from Italy—which became the vogue under Henry VIII. That King, in addition to practically rebuilding the Gloriette, also

245.—DETAILS OF PANELLING IN DINING-ROOM.

246.—DETAILS OF PANELLING IN DINING-ROOM.

erected a separate house of some size on the larger island, to which we have still to refer. It was called the Maidens' Tower, though it is not in the nature of a tower at all, but is a complete and separate dwelling-house. Tradition asserts that it was built for the Maids of Honour of the Queen of Henry VIII, and that the keys of the house were brought to the King at an early hour every night when the ladies had been safely locked in. There is no doubt that it occupies the site of earlier buildings, half of it descending to a lower level and filling the space between the outer and inner enceintes, and the other half stretching out into the inner bailey and occupying approximately the position covered at Eltham, for instance, by the great chapel. Its original internal arrangements can only be guessed from the position of the windows, for the whole interior has been changed. The floors are gone, for the greater part, and what were dwelling-rooms have been altered into a brewhouse and other offices. It had two entrances with separate staircases, and rooms on two floors, as in colleges at Oxford or Cambridge. The battlements are modern. It originally had stone gable-ends. The alteration of the interior into a brewhouse was made about 1750, and the bedroom floor was sacrificed. Brewing must have been done here on a considerable scale, for a pipe was run from the brewery underground into the great cellar where the beer was casked. This pipe was still used for the purpose within the memory of the present owner.

247.—SIDE TABLE OF THE EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

It is probable that a good deal more of the history of this most interesting and important castle might be made out by help of the spade, and even by a careful collection and collation of old prints and drawings, seeing that the bulk of the alterations were carried out long after the habit of making

topographical drawings and prints had set in. Mr. Wykeham-Martin, in his book, has preserved a certain amount of verbal record of what was altered or done away with, but such records without contemporary illustration are liable to be obscure. Few consecutive generations have been content to leave Leeds Castle alone. They have made additions, alterations, destructions, and reconstructions as seemed good to each of them, obliterating much, but each in its turn adding to the complex whole, which, as it now stands, is, and, let us hope, will long remain a witness to the continuity and variety of life in the England that we know. Perhaps the future of such great houses can never again be as splendid as their past, but that future generations will not prize and preserve the noble pile which so varied a past has handed down in substantial strength and uncommon beauty can scarcely be regarded as doubtful.

248.—THE CASTLE IN ITS MOAT.
The east side as seen from an aeroplane.

MAXSTOKE CASTLE, WARWICKSHIRE

"A RIGHT proper thing after the old building" is the description given to Maxstoke four centuries ago; and it holds to this day, for of our late Edwardian castles there is none more representative and more picturesque. Within the courtyard the disappearance of part of the mediæval buildings and the transformation of the remainder into a later habitation have lessened the value of the picture. But, so far as the outward elevations are concerned—the gate-house, the corner towers, the connecting curtain walls, the varied fenestration, the crenellated skyline—there is no diminution and scarce an addition since an Earl of Huntingdon completed them in the days of Edward III. There they stand in their solid and splendid reality, and there they repeat themselves in fairy-like reflection along the entire stretch of the encompassing moat (Fig. 254). Bodiam (page 239) is, in many ways, its fellow, but, although later, it has a more stern and defensive look as it rises almost windowless out of the water. Maxstoke is more elegant and inviting. Its windows are not confined to the court, but give outlook on to the fair Warwickshire landscape. To the west, indeed, the curtain is not a fortress defence, but a house wall with great and low silled traceried windows (Fig. 251).

249.—THE GATE-HOUSE.
It occupies the centre of the east side and is reached over the bridge that spans the moat.

Maxstoke is an extensive and fertile parish lying south-east of the town of Coleshill, and, under the name of Machintone, the Domesday surveyors returned it as held by one Alnod as tenant to Turchil, Earl of Warwick. It soon passed to the Norman family of Limesey, of whom Randolph had forty-one lordships in nine English counties when the Domesday Survey was made. These, in due course, were scattered and, through his mother, Basilia Limesey, Maxstoke came to William de Odyngsells, who died in 1249. The last of the male line was his grandson, Edmund de Odyngsells, who died some time in the reign of Edward II, as his four sisters and

co-heiresses had inherited before 1315, Maxstoke being the portion of Ida, wife to John de Clinton.

The Clinton family is now represented by the Duke of Newcastle, and the founder of the family was one Geoffrey. By Rous, the fifteenth century Warwick chronicler, he is declared to have been the grandson of William de Tankerville, Chamberlain of Normandy; but by his contemporary, Orderic Vitalis, he is placed first in his list of the "men of ignoble stock lifted up from the dust and exalted above Earls and burghers by Henry I," who, like other kings before and after him, saw the wisdom of choosing as his officials clever poor men who rose and fell at his convenience rather than giving administrative power to those whose lineage and lands made them independent, if not dangerous. And so Geoffrey, who took surname from Clinton in

250.—WITHIN THE COURTYARD, LOOKING NORTH-EAST.
To the right is the gate-house, to the left the Dead Man Tower, and beyond it a fireplace and floor corbels of the vanished timber-framed buildings may be seen.

Oxfordshire, became in turn chamberlain, treasurer and justiciar. He accumulated wealth and acquired ample estates in Warwickshire, where he founded a priory and built a castle which became famous in history as that of Kenilworth. He also purchased the manor of Coleshill, which, as we learn from a charter of Henry II's time, his son passed on to his kinsman, Osbert de Clinton. Osbert's grandson Thomas was a man of large possessions and considerable local importance under Henry III. He married the heiress of Baddesley, which passed to his fourth son James and, as Baddesley Clinton, survives as one of Warwickshire's most delightful old moated houses. Of Thomas de Clinton's other sons, John obtained Coleshill and Thomas was seated at Amington, which he transmitted to his son John, Ida de Odyngsells' husband, whom we hear of serving in Edward I's Lincoln Parliament in 1301. Dugdale also tells us how he attended the King at—

> *Barwick* upon *Twede* on the Feast day of the Nativitee of *S. John Baptist* to march against the Scots: at which time the King invading *Scotland* with his Army Royall, as a badge of his favour to this John for his speciall service in that expedition (whom he calls *nostre chier vadlet*, his beloved Esquier) by his Letters Patent dated at Glasgow 2 *Aug.* ensuing, granted unto him lands in that Kingdom to the value of XL li. *per annum.*

In 1306 he attended the Prince of Wales to Ponthieu, and when the Prince became Edward II in the following year he appointed him governor of Wallingford Castle. His brother-in-law's death will have put him in possession of Maxstoke for some few years before he died in 1315 " leaving *John* his son and heir within age, and *William* a younger son who became a person of great eminency." If, as Dugdale here asserts, John was heir to Maxstoke, how came it that William founded its Priory and built its Castle ?

Despite his " great eminency " we know very little of William de Clinton, Earl of Huntingdon. He is ignored by the " Dictionary of National Biography," and, although three lengthy papers on the manor, church, priory, castle and owners of Maxstoke have appeared in the " Transactions " of the Birmingham and Midland Institute, yet, as regards William and his castle, they do little more than repeat what was written in the seventeenth century by Dugdale. From him we learn that he married " *Julian* the daughter and heir unto Sir Thomas de Leybourne widow of *John* Lord *Hastings* of *Bergavenny* in 3. *Edw.* 3. Which match was (as I guess) a great step in his father advancement." He was about twenty-five years old when, in 1330, he wedded this rich and high-placed widow, and, almost at once, we find him Justice of Chester, Constable of Dover, warden of the Cinque Ports, and, by writ of summons, a member of the House of Peers. Next he is a Privy Councillor and Admiral of the West, and in 1337 he is created an earl. Thus we read :

> Standing high in the King's favour he became forthwith advanc'd to the Earldome of *Huntendon* as by his Charter of Creation dated 16 *Martii* 11 *Edw* 3 appeareth ; having not only XX. li. given him out of the issues of that Countie, to be pay'd by the Shiriff at the Feasts of *Easter* and *Michaelmasse* yearly ; but for his better support of that Honour, in consideration of his former acceptable Services a grant of a thousand marks *per ann.* lands to himself and the heirs of his bodie for Ever. . . . Being therefore thus honoured and inricht and so advanc't to such places of power and trust, in 19 *Edw* 3 he began the Foundation of a fair and strong Castle here, in a quadrangular forme for the behoof of his nephew John de Clinton and his heirs having no issue of his own body.

What had happened to John his brother we do not know, except that he also is several times summoned to the House of Peers by writ, to the last of which, dated 1335, are added the words *mortuus est.* Two years before that William was already exercising proprietary rights in Maxstoke parish, for in 1333 he founded a chantry and gave it, among other endowments,

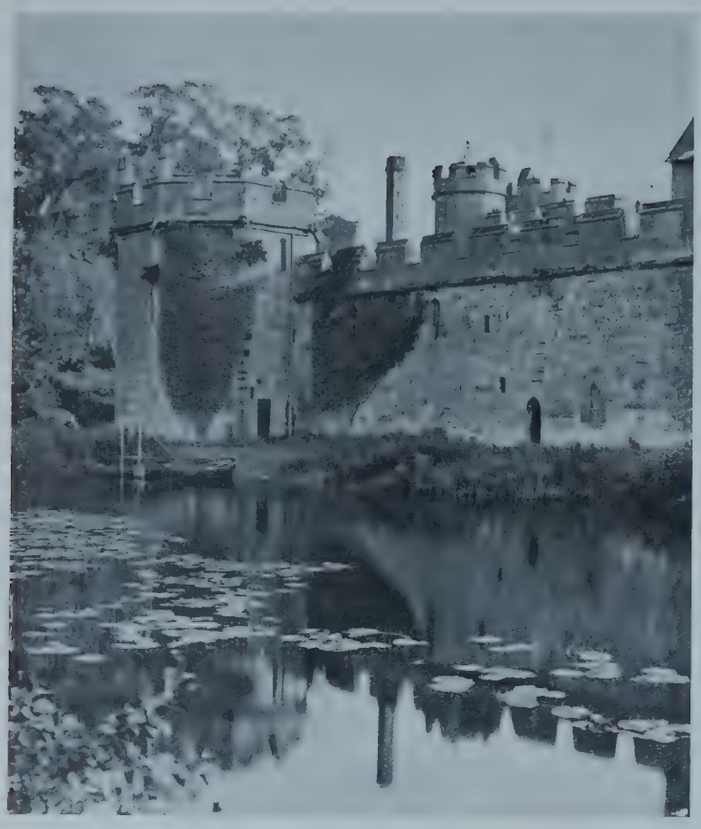
> A certain piece of land, lying there betwixt the roadway from Fillongley to Coleshill on the one side and the churchyard on the other and extending in length from the Lord of Maxstoke's Quarry to the pale of his park, together with the advowson of the Church.

Thus, although it was his brother who was Lord of Maxstoke, he was in a position to give away the advowson and some parcels of land in 1333, and further land after his brother's death, when he merged the chantry into the larger Priory. But the manor passed to his nephew John, as we know from the Priory cartulary, which shows that it was with him that the monks arranged for the exchange of land which gave them the old de Odyngsell home in 1345. Becoming Earl of Huntingdon, William de Clinton considerably increased his gifts to his religious house, and, in 1344, assigned to them the neighbouring manor of Shustoke, which he had recently acquired. They preferred, however, an estate contiguous to their place of abode and so, to use Dugdale's words, exchanged it for

> The antient mannour house of Maxstoke, moated about, and situated neer to this Monasterie, together with the Park, and all that part which hath since that time been known by the name of the Priory Lordship. Whereupon they converted the old house (the antient seat of the said founder's ancestors) into barnes, keeping up the moat for the turning of a water-mill which so continued till within the memory of some aged persons lately deceased.

At the time when the earl gave Shustoke to the priory he was contemplating the building of the new castle on a new and unoccupied site in the northern half of the parish, and thus the " ancient seat " soon lost its importance to the family, and the wish and convenience of the monks could be met by letting them have the southern half of the parish as their home estate. The priory consisted of a church with domestic buildings grouped round the cloister to the north of it. Of all this the foundations remain and have been fully explored and traced. On the high road, along which lay the north wall of the extensive monastic enclosure, the outer gate-house remains standing, roofless, indeed, but with all its stonework well preserved. It was a rectangular gabled building with excrescences on its west side. That at the northern corner contained upper and lower rooms for the porter. That at the south corner was a stair turret giving

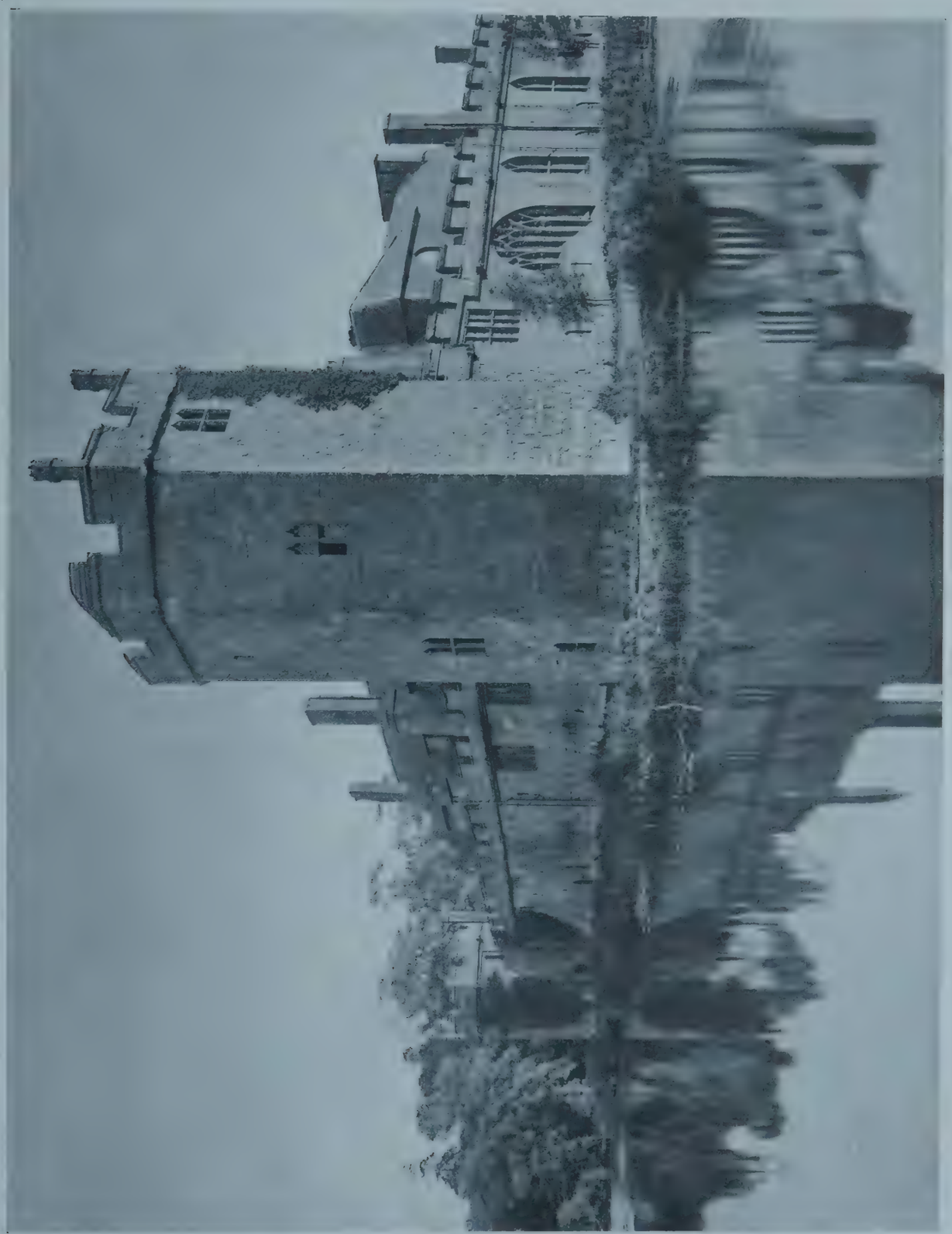
251.—THE KITCHEN TOWER AND THE WEST CURTAIN WALL.



252.—THE GATE-HOUSE TURRETS RISING OVER THE NORTH CURTAIN WALL.

access to a fine room that occupied the whole upper floor of the main building and also gave into a little chamber set over the porter's rooms. The ground floor consists of a vaulted passage, having at each end a wide elliptical arch, and, two-thirds through it, a division pierced by two doorways (Fig. 269), as already noted at Northborough (page 155). The smaller one, for pedestrians, has a pointed arch, but the elliptical form of the outer arches is repeated on a narrower scale for the cartway. The old doors and their grand hinges and strappings remain, the space beyond them being just sufficient for the larger ones to open under cover. The building seen through is a farm-house that occupies the place and uses the remains of the inner gate-house which was probably added to for the prior's lodging in the fifteenth century and had a fine upper room of that date in Dugdale's time. The outer gate-house was certainly among the early buildings of the priory, and its windows closely resemble those of the castle which the

253.—THE DEAD MAN AND LADYE'S TOWERS CONNECTED BY THE NORTH CURTAIN WALL.



254.—AFTERNOON SUNLIGHT ON THE LADYE'S TOWER.

255.—FROM THE NORTH-WEST.
Showing Edwardian and Elizabethan windows.

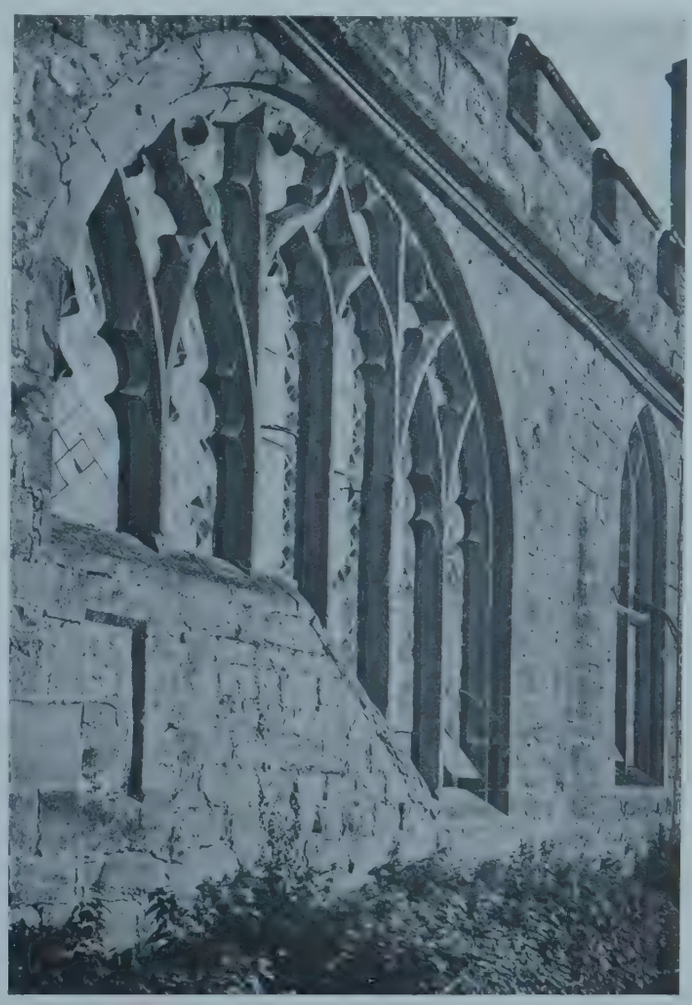
Earl of Huntingdon began to build in 1346. The arched windows in the priory gate-house gables have dripstones, but are otherwise the same as two in the centre of the west curtain wall of the castle (Fig. 255); while the square-headed priory windows have the same ogee head with cusps as those of the castle towers, except that these are taller and, therefore, transomed.

Maxstoke is a fairly early example of a keepless castle. To state exactly when this abandonment took place is difficult, as much Edwardian castle building took the form of alterations and enlargements of existing fortresses possessing square Norman or round Early Plantagenet keeps which were retained. But the castle of Caerphilly, built before 1272, is keepless, while the complete type of concentric fortress was adopted by Edward I for the safe holding of North Wales, as at Conway and Carnarvon (page 83), the latter not being completed till William de Clinton's boyhood. While using much the same general plan, he bore in mind that it was not a fortress, but a defended house that he was building in the well policed reign of Edward III and the peaceful county of Warwick. He limited towers to the corners and to the entrance gate, he pierced outer walls with large windows where they were desirable for light and view. His curtain walls were not high, his towers not machicolated, but only topped with ordinary battlements. We get the full impression that amenity was more sought after than strength. There is great charm in the general form of the building and in its ornamental details. The gate-house (Fig. 249), occupying the centre of the east side, is three-storeyed with still taller flanking turrets to its outer elevation. Thus it stands forth loftily proclaiming the entrance and giving a stately dignity of approach. The stone bridge across the moat is now continuous, but of old the section nearest the entrance arch was a wooden drawbridge which, when raised, fitted under and was protected from rain drip by the projecting course of stonework above the arch, within which was a portcullis. The lodgings and offices which will have reared their timber front along a large

part of the court would be sufficiently lighted from the inside and needed little piercing of the curtain wall. Yet, even here, besides narrow, chamfered-edged openings, there are single-light, cusp-headed windows, breaking here and there the severity of the outer wall surface (Fig. 253).

But where, against the west curtain wall and facing the gate-house, lay the principal rooms, they were lighted on both sides, on the plan of the unfortified house, such as de Pulteney adopted at Penshurst (page 167) at the same time that de Clinton was providing much the same character of accommodation, but on castle plan, at Maxstoke. The square-headed four-light windows that flank the north-west or Ladye's Tower (Fig. 258) are Elizabethan replacements, but the tall arched windows to the west are contemporary with the building. They strike a note of the joyous peacefulness that is banishing the disagreeables of mediæval insecurity and petty war. The bold, rich tracery consorts with the moulded battlements, and the pronounced string-course that runs below the crenellation of both curtain wall and towers is broken at intervals by fascinating gargoyles skilfully representing all sorts of beasts known to or inagined by the fourteenth century sculptor. What rooms the tall windows lit, especially that of six lights richly traceried with rising sill (Fig. 256), it is difficult to say, as there is no plan or clear description of the disposition as it was before the Elizabethan remodelling and later alterations which obscure the original arrangement. The normal plan, as we find it at late concentric castles, such as Bodiam (Fig. 272) and Lumley (Fig. 280), was to place the hall in the centre of the side opposite to the gate-house, with the kitchens on one side and the solar or great chamber on the other and at a higher level. The chapel was not necessarily contiguous to hall or solar, a position being chosen that gave an eastern aspect to the window over the altar. But the great west window at Maxstoke has been declared chapel-like, and has led to the adoption of a conjectural plan of a very unusual nature.

William de Clinton, Earl of Huntingdon, died in 1354, six years after he had begun building the castle which he destined for and now left to his nephew, who had been legal Lord of Maxstoke since his father's death. As he was sole heir to his childless uncle he will have been well able to maintain, and probably complete, his fine new habitation. Like his father and, on one occasion, his grandfather, he was summoned to Parliament by writ, and so is styled third Baron de Clinton by Cockayne. The chief recorded public event of his life was his presence at Poitiers, while the feature of his domesticity lies in his having married four wives ; the last having been twice a widow before she mated him, and again taking a husband after she buried him in 1398. To her Maxstoke was left for life, and so it was 1423 before it came into possession of the fourth Baron de Clinton. He was the grandson of the third lord's first wife, and as she was co-heiress to Lord Say, her Clinton descendants acquired additional estates, took no special interest in Maxstoke and for a while assumed the Say title, being known as de Clinton and Say, although the latter barony ultimately



256.—THE GREAT EDWARDIAN WINDOW TO THE WEST.
The sill ramps up, following the rise of a stairway.

fell to the Fiennes family. Thus Clinton and Say, quarterly, are the arms that formed the seal of the deed whereby the fifth de Clinton exchanged Maxstoke for two Northamptonshire manors in 1439.

The new Lord of Maxstoke was the second of five generations of de Staffords who met with a violent death. The marriage of the fifth Earl of Stafford with Ann Plantagenet, daughter and heiress of Edward III's youngest son, Thomas of Woodstock, had made an already rich and powerful family far wealthier and more important. They became of the blood royal and inherited

257.—THE DEAD MAN TOWER IN THE EARLY MORNING LIGHT.

258.—THE LADYE'S TOWER.

It is the highest of the corner towers and occupies the north-west angle.

much of the lands and influence of the Bohuns, hereditary Constables and Earls of Hereford. But it was the beginning of their ill fortune, and Ann's husband was killed at the battle of Shrewsbury in 1403, he being then no more than twenty-five years of age and his son and heir a baby of twelve months. The latter was thirty-six when he obtained Maxstoke by exchange, having, the year before, succeeded to his mother's estates—such as Pleshey in Essex, Brecon and Caldicot (page 67) in South Wales—and probably to her earldom of Buckingham, which, however, was merged into the dukedom that was shortly after conferred upon him, he being a strong supporter of Henry VI and Queen Margaret against the Yorkist party.

259.—ON THE ROOF OF DEAD MAN TOWER.
The Chimney shaft, with its crenellated top, is original and untouched.

260.—THE NORTH-WEST CORNER OF THE COURTYARD.
As seen through a doorway of the Dairy or south-east tower.

Despite his frequent attendance at the seat of Government and the great number of his castles and country seats, he made enough use of the newly acquired Maxstoke for Dugdale to insist that—

> This Earl had a very great liking to this Castle, for no sooner did he so obtain it, but that he plated the gates all over with Iron and adorn'd them with his own Crest impaled with *Nevill* and supported by two *Antelopes* in respect that *Anne* his mother was one of the daughters and coheirs unto *Thomas* of *Woodstoke* Duke of *Gloucester*: and in further memorie that these Gates were then so strengthened and beautified, he caused the *burning Nave* and *Knot* (the ancient Badges of his Ancestors) to be imbossed in the Iron work, thwarting the midst thereof as are yet to be seen.

The duke's doors still survive, and with the beautifully groined roof of the entrance passage through the gate-house (Fig. 264) form a very complete late mediæval picture. We also learn from Dugdale that the duke appointed William Draicote as Constable of the Castle, and that "within the body thereof is a little chapel" where a double wedding took place, the duke's daughter Katherine marrying the heir to the Shrewsbury earldom, and Lord John Stafford mating with the heiress of Drayton. More fortunate than his father, brother and nephew, Lord John did not fall a victim to the sword or the scaffold, but became Earl of Wiltshire and cupbearer to Edward IV.

Wedding festivities and other domestic gatherings, such as occur at Maxstoke in 1458, are rare interludes amid fierce political fights and internecine war. In 1454 the Yorkist leaders get the

Government into their own hands and away from the Queen's party. Each side arms, and Sir John Paston reports that Buckingham has had 2,000 Stafford knots made " to what entent men may construe as their wittes wole yeve theym." There resulted the first battle of St. Albans, where the duke was wounded in the face and his eldest son so grievously hurt that he shortly died. Five years later, when the hostile parties met at Northampton, the duke was among the slain. Attaint and forfeiture followed, but the little grandson Henry, who was six years old when the first duke met his fate in 1460, eventually had titles and estates restored to him. He flashes across the page of history and the scene of Shakespeare's " Richard III " for a few months in 1483. In the early summer, when the strawberries are ripe in the garden of Ely house, he assists Richard to the throne. Then, when the Bishop of Ely is his prisoner at Brecon, the able and experienced churchman so influences the vain young man of twenty-eight that he takes up arms against the King he has just helped to make. But his local levies cannot wait till the exceptional

261.—CHAMBER IN DEAD MAN TOWER.

autumn rains are over and allow of the Severn being crossed. The duke finds himself almost deserted and goes into hiding. A Shropshire tenant receives him, but, attracted by the reward, gives him up to Sheriff Mytton, who hurries him to his doom at Salisbury, where Richard was. A year and more pass, and the King stops at Maxstoke on his way to Nottingham from Kenilworth and, as Dugdale relates :

> Commanded that part of the inner buildings should be taken down and carried to that Castle with all speed : but what was done therein I know not for he was soon after slain at *Bosworth* field.

That battle and the crowning of Henry Tudor caused another sharp turn of the wheel of the Stafford fortunes, and again titles and estates are restored. The Staffords were closely connected with the Tudors. Duke Henry's mother was Margaret Beaufort, daughter of the second Duke of Somerset, and her aunt was the more famous Margaret Beaufort, mother of Henry VII. After the death of her Tudor husband she had married Lord Henry Stafford, uncle to Duke Henry,

262.—A GARDEN DOORWAY.

263.—THE UPPER CHAMBER OF THE GATE-HOUSE.
The floor has been lowered and it is used as a pigeon house.

who, when he met his fate at Salisbury, left, by his Wydvile wife, aunt to Henry VII's queen, a boy, Edward, thus many times over cousin to the new King. That was not at all a source of safety under Henry VIII, who felt himself secure in his doubtful title in proportion as he got rid of Plantagenet blood. The third Duke of Buckingham grew up vain of his ancestry and vaunting of his wealth. When the royal friendship turned to hostility there could be but one end. He was talkative and boastful, and, as Lloyd tells us:

> that which ruineth the world ruined him, his tongue: Fate never undid a man without his own indiscretion; and her first stroke is at the head.

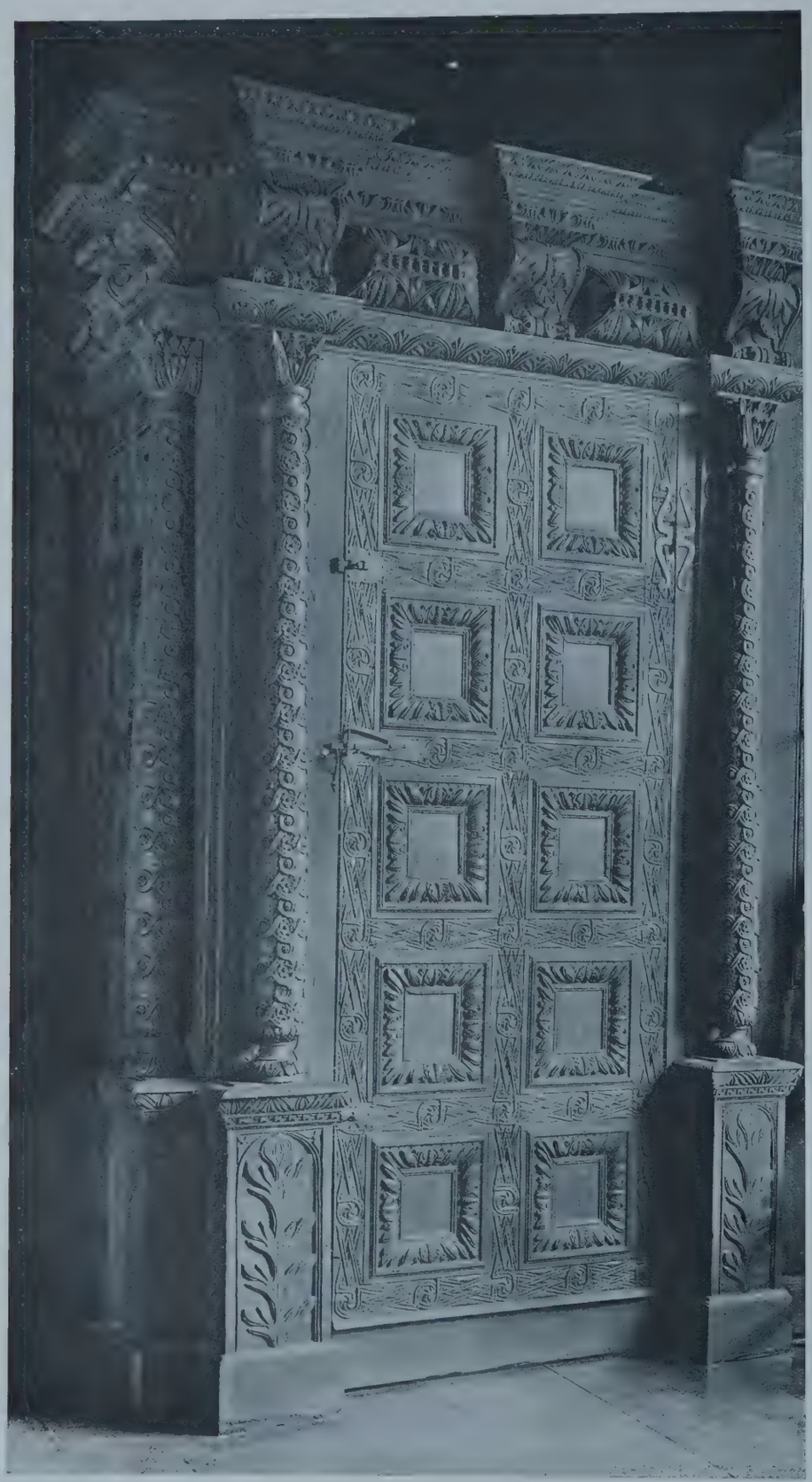
The stroke fell on Tower Hill in 1521, and the Stafford line of Dukes of Buckingham and owners of Maxstoke came to an end. Commissioners were sent to report on the forfeited estates. Their eighty-eight page report deals with eleven manor houses and castles, and is our authority for their condition at the time of the duke's fall. Brecon, whence his father had set out on his fatal expedition, had a fine hall and "as to the roof of the said hall it is newly and costly made with pendants after a goodly fashion." Thornbury was being transformed into a Tudor palace and gardens, and so it specially interested the escheators whose description of it, together with what still remains, enables us to re-create it in mind. From them we also learn that—

> The Castle of Maxstok is a right proper thing after the old building standing within a fair and a large moat full of fish. . . . Item, within the same is a fair hall and at the over end of the same is a fair chapel and on height is a great chamber, a fair inner chamber with sundry other proper chambers within the same having chimneys and draughts. And both beneath and over the same be like chambers with stairs, conveniently conveying from one to another and from every of them is good conveyance to the chapel. Much of this work was done by my Lady's grace the King's grand-dame, and wanted finishing in sundry wises.

264.—THE VAULTED WAY THROUGH THE GATE-HOUSE.
The vaulting with carved bosses is Edwardian. The doors were plated with iron by the Duke of Buckingham under Henry VI.

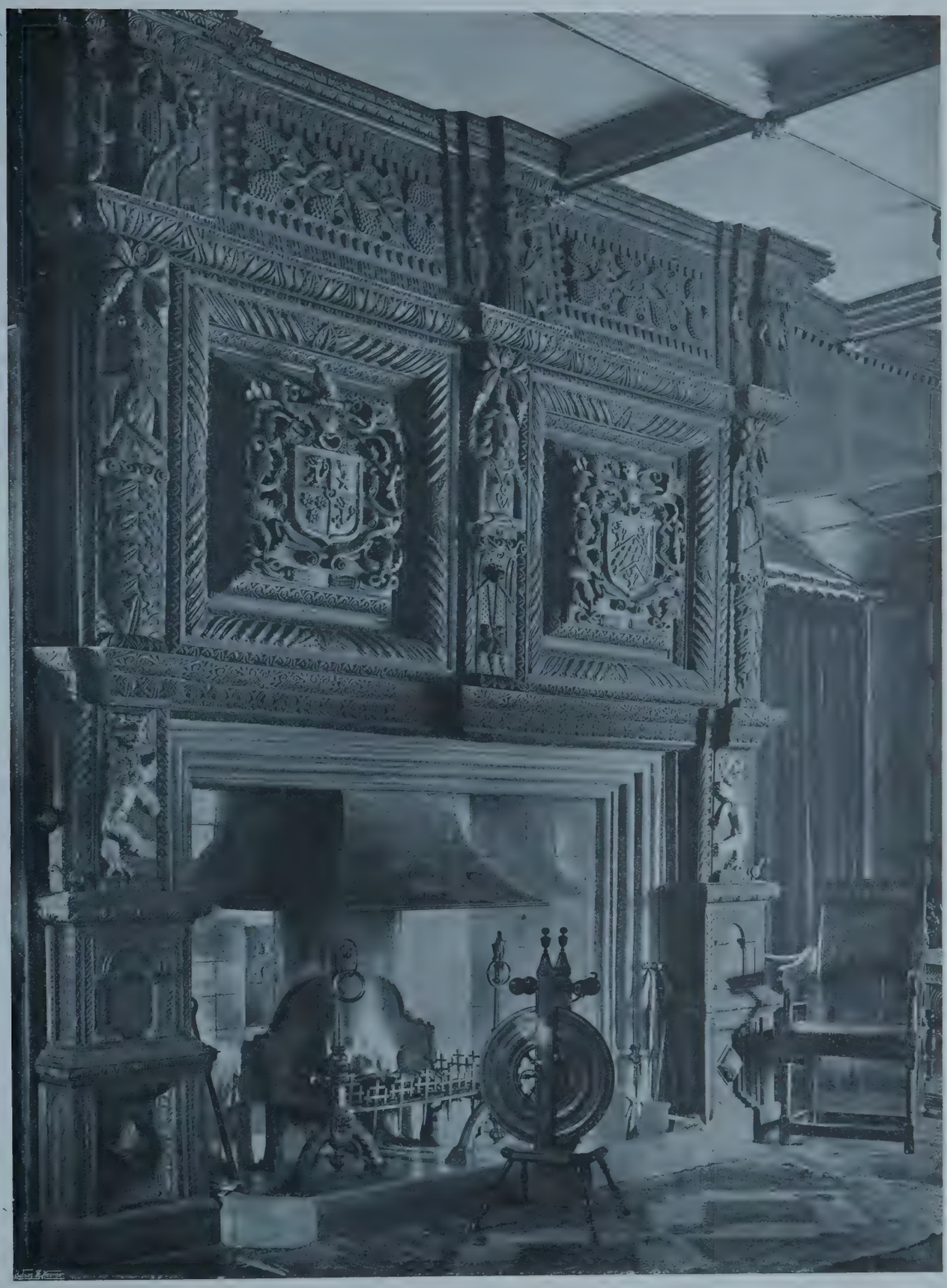
Other offices are said to be in decay, but "100l will make the castle meet for the King and Queen in the time of their progress." Outside the castle is a large base court, stables and barns, all walled with stone. There is a good deal of this description, but it fails to make clear the distribution of even the principal rooms of the castle. It does not, therefore, either confirm or disprove the plan suggested to us in Hudson Turner's "Domestic Architecture":

> The arrangement of the hall, chapel and kitchen is preserved. The hall is on the first floor with low rooms under it, one of which is vaulted and is connected by a doorway with the ground room in one of the corner towers; this room has a good groined vault with ribs meeting in the centre, the upper rooms are modernised. At the opposite end of the hall is the chapel, which has been the whole height of the house, separated from both the hall and the room under it either by screens with shutters or by partitions with openings in them; this part is now modern and the chapel itself divided by a floor, but the original arrangement can be clearly made out; and the large west window of the chapel remains perfect, with late Decorated tracery. The kitchen is on the opposite side of the chapel so that the passage from the kitchen to the hall must have been through the chapel; and as the kitchen is on the ground floor, there was a low flight of steps of very gradual and easy ascent leading across the west end of the chapel to the hall, and the sill of the window, instead of being horizontal as usual, is sloping to receive these steps.



265.—DOORWAY IN THE GREAT CHAMBER.

For the chapel to be the passage way from kitchen to hall is a most unusual and unlikely arrangement, especially in a late castle new built on a complete plan. The suggested chapel is where, in castles comparable to Maxstoke, such as Bodiam and Lumley, the hall is placed, that is, facing the gate-house at the opposite side of the court, and placed between the kitchen and the solar or



266.—CHIMNEYPIECE IN SIR THOMAS DILKE'S GREAT CHAMBER.

It is lit by the Elizabethan windows which he inserted in the north curtain wall.

great chamber on a higher level. Thus, what Hudson Turner calls the hall would answer very well to the escheators' great chamber "on a height" and leading to a "fair inner chamber" on the first floor of the north-west or Ladye's Tower. But, then, they imply that the chapel was at the "over end" of the hall instead of, as at Bodiam and Lumley, on another side of the court where it could have the proper orientation. Short of pulling about the present floors and partitions it is probably impossible to make a correct reconstruction of the original plan; and if the chapel really was between kitchen and hall and the latter up the stairs which break the line of the sill of the big west window, then the great chamber of the escheators is the fine room lying on the north side, and rewindowed and wainscoted in Elizabethan times.

Five months after he beheaded Buckingham Henry VIII granted Maxstoke to Sir William Compton, whose inherited seat of Compton Wynyates was in the same county. He had been page to Henry before his accession in 1509 and his gentleman of the bedchamber afterwards. He knew how to win and hold the royal friendship and favour, profiting so well thereby that when he died in 1528 he possessed property in eighteen counties. By the Comptons Maxstoke was neglected as a residence even more than by the Staffords. But in 1587 Sir William's great-grandson, Lord Compton, sold it to Lord Keeper Egerton, who, two years later, resold it to Sir Thomas Dilke. The younger son of a Leicestershire man, he had taken—a year before his acquisition of Maxstoke—a Warwickshire wife, daughter to Sir Clement Fisher of Packington in that county. Of his avocations and the source of his means we know nothing, but he was in a position to buy the Maxstoke estate and transform the main block of the decayed Gothic structure into a habitation having the characteristics of his age. We have already noted his four-light mullioned windows high up in the curtain wall on each side of the Ladye's Tower. The northern ones light what he made into, if he did not find to be, the Great Chamber. He

267.—WAINSCOTING AND TABLE IN THE GREAT CHAMBER.

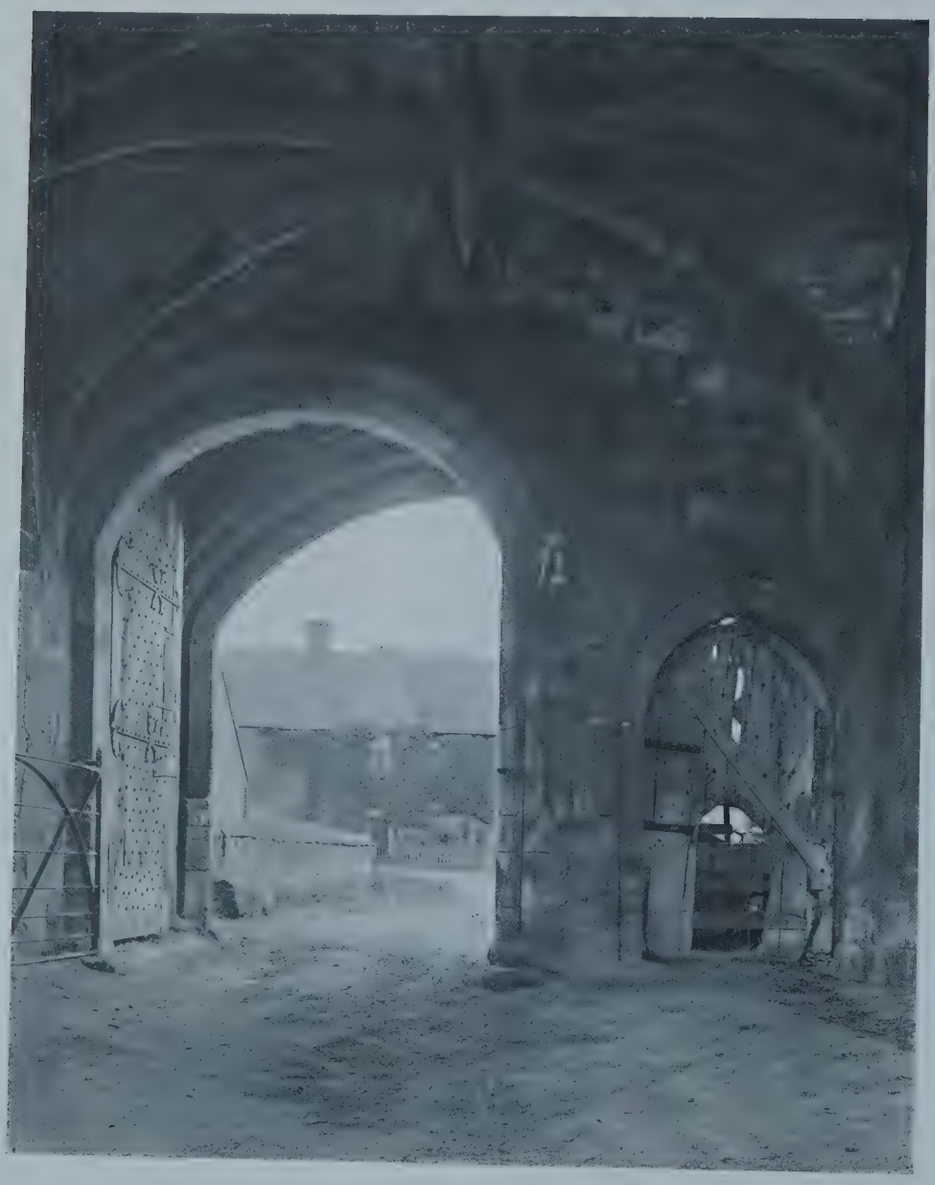
lined it with oak wainscoting, enriched with fluted pilasters, and he introduced a profusely carved doorway (Fig. 265) and, between the windows, set up a sumptuous chimneypiece (Fig. 266) rising from floor to ceiling and having in its centre panels elaborate shields of his own and his wife's arms. A long table (Fig. 267), or shuffle-board, stretching along the wall opposite to the chimneypiece is of the period and may very well have stood there ever since his time. As reconstructed by him the inhabited portion of the castle occupies the west and half of the north sides of the court. He also maintained the "proper chambers" in the other towers. What remained of the rest of the buildings—no doubt timber framed—at the time of his purchase is uncertain. It has been surmised that they may have disappeared as early as 1485, being the "inner buildings" which Richard III ordered to be taken down and transferred to Kenilworth. But the very ample accommodation which the Henry VIII escheators found existing, if in certain parts decaying, implies that the courtyard was still complete, as well as the "base court." That will have stood beyond the moat to the north-east, and the wall that yet remains there and is pierced by a very picturesque, if somewhat made up, arched doorway (Fig. 262) may be a remnant or reconstruction of some portion of it.

268.—BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF THE CASTLE.
Taken from an aeroplane.

From the escheators' report we also gather that a good deal of both structural and decorative work was undertaken, but never completed, in the fifteenth century. They were, however, almost certainly confusing two persons of the same name when they attributed it to the "King's grand-dame." That is a reference to the widowed Margaret Beaufort whom we saw marrying Lord Henry Stafford after her Tudor husband's death, and it is extremely unlikely that she ever resided at, and still less altered, Maxstoke. But her niece, the other Margaret Beaufort, was wife to Humphrey Lord Stafford, who, as eldest son and heir to the first Duke of Buckingham, may very well have had that castle assigned to him as a residence, his widow continuing there after his death in 1455, and until the forfeiture of the estates in 1460. That event would stop all work in progress, and as the place did not interest the second and third dukes it would remain unfinished. All that is in the realm of conjecture, as there is little Gothic work remaining beyond the outer walls, the towers, and the vaulting of the gateway entrance and of one or two downstair rooms. In the court (Fig. 250) we still see the "chimneys and draughts," contrived in the curtain wall, that warmed the chambers in the vanished timber-framed buildings. William de Clinton was liberal in chimneys. Rising within curtain wall or tower they occur in most rooms, and their shafts add greatly to the effect of sky line. Many are perfect and unrenewed even to their caps, enriched with a double toy crenellation (Fig. 259). In the towers there are rooms still possessing some mediæval flavour. Such occur in the north-east or "Dead Man" tower (Fig. 261), but still better in the gate-house, where the upper room (Fig. 263), although the floor level has been lowered and the whole converted into a columbarium, has oak ceiling beams such as would have been originally used, while the seats in the window recess and the doorway opening from the top of the newel stair must be as William de Clinton

left them. Below this the first floor room is entered from the broad rampart walk, or allure, which is continued through the towers by means of twin doors. To the left of the Dead Man Tower (Fig. 250) appears the line of stone corbels set into the curtain wall to support floor beams of the timbered structure, while through one of the ground floor doorways of the south-east or Dairy Tower we get a peep of the Dilke reconstruction at the opposite corner of the court (Fig. 260).

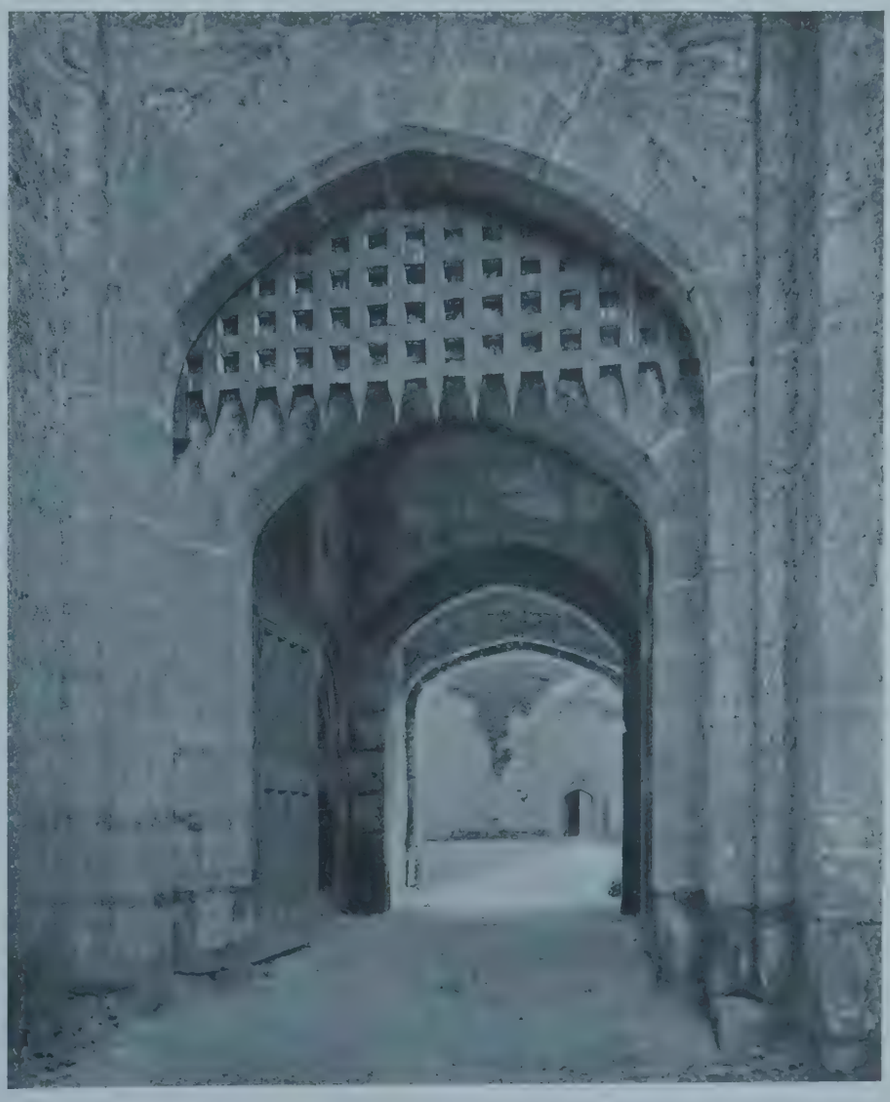
From Sir Thomas's younger son the late Sir Charles Dilke traced his descent. The elder one was in possession of the castle when Dugdale collected the materials for his county history, and his descendants have ever since retained possession of the estate, although they have ceased to reside at the castle, which is now in the occupation of the Rev. D. L. Lee-Elliott (Vicar of Maxstoke) and Mrs. Lee-Elliott.



269.—THE VAULTED WAY THROUGH THE PRIORY GATE-HOUSE.

BODIAM CASTLE, SUSSEX

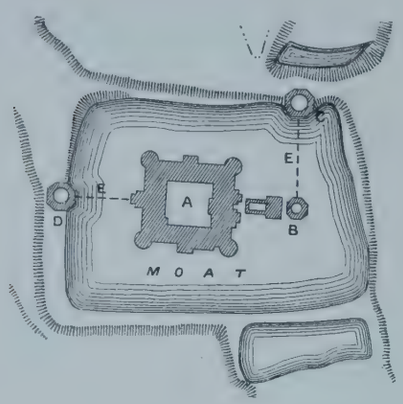
AT Penshurst (page 166) we have found a great fourteenth century house with very modest defences. At Maxstoke (page 220) they were more in evidence, whereas Bodiam is quite a fortress. It contained, indeed, fine rooms and ample accommodation for its date, but the site was chosen and the plan made by a man who had served for years victoriously in France, who had there learnt how castles could be defended and who came home fully determined to practise the lesson he had learnt. To see its ruins right, go on a sunny May morning, when the three great hawthorn trees in its courtyard are in full bloom. Moreover, the castle stands in the midst of a moat which may almost be called a lake, and the young foliage on the trees that grow all around it and reach over the waters in which the castle is reflected forms an admirable frame to the grey ruin. Or you may go when the water-lilies are in flower and the smooth surface of the moat is all covered with their floating leaves, on which the little red feet of the moorhens patter as they run about. Built, like Maxstoke, by one man, it stands four-square and complete, the visible embodiment of that man's idea; the expression of the military needs of a certain moment; an engine of war of a definite time and place, like the Dreadnought of a particular stage of naval architecture. Once built it was never changed; no attempt was made to adapt it to later developments; it was used as long as it lasted, till the day came when it was disroofed, dismantled and abandoned.



270.—ENTRANCE GATE.

The mediæval owners of Bodiam were never very distinguished. In the reign of Henry II they were the De Bodyams, the heiress of the last of whom married Nicholas Wardeux early in the fourteenth century. Their granddaughter and heiress married Sir Edward Dalyngruge, who was the builder of the castle and who set up the arms of the three families he represented — Bodyam, Wardeux and Dalyngruge

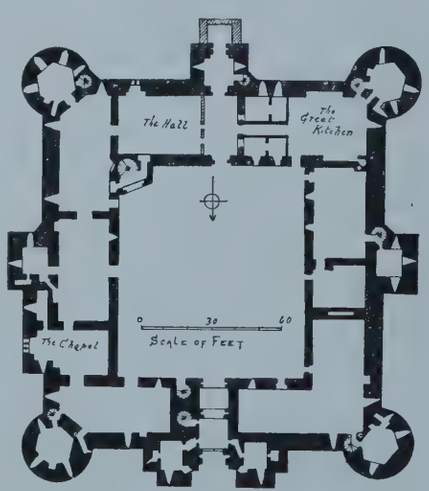
—over the great gate. Sir Edward's daughter in her turn inherited Bodiam and conveyed it by marriage to the Lewknor family, in whose succession it remained to the time of the Revolutionary Wars in 1643. When Waller had taken Arundel Castle he decided to dismantle all the strongholds of the Royalist gentry in Sussex, and Bodiam was among the number. After the Restoration the heirs of the Lewknors sold it, and it was resold several times before being finally purchased in 1864 by Mr. George Cubitt, who was made Lord Ashcombe in 1892. In his hands the ruin was well cared for. Licence to build the castle was granted in 1386 to Sir Edward Dalyngruge, who had made much money as a fighter and plunderer in the French wars. He was not, indeed, in the absolutely first flight of knightly soldiers of fortune, such as Sir John Hawkwood, Sir Hugh Calveley and Sir Robert Knollys, but he served with distinction under the last mentioned, and his share of booty must have been considerable. Independently of this, he was a man of some wealth, as, besides his wife's inheritance, he and his ancestors before him were already seated in the county at Sheffield in Fletching parish and at Bolebroke in that of Hartfield.



271.—GENERAL PLAN.
A *Castle;* EE *Light bridges;* BDG *Fortified bridge ends.*

Present at both Crécy and Poictiers, Dalyngruge is also held to have successfully raided portions of Northern France. Bodiam Castle represents the profits of his plundering, or of the ransoms paid by his captives. The number of English castles built out of the profits of the French wars is very great. Thus, to take a single instance, Sir John Fastolf captured the Duc d'Alençon at Verneuil in 1424 and arranged, as the price of his ransom, that he should build a castle for Sir John in England like his own at Verneuil. The castle thus built was Caister Castle, near Yarmouth. The most successful plunderers seem to have been Henry V's knights; but Edward III's evidently did not do badly.

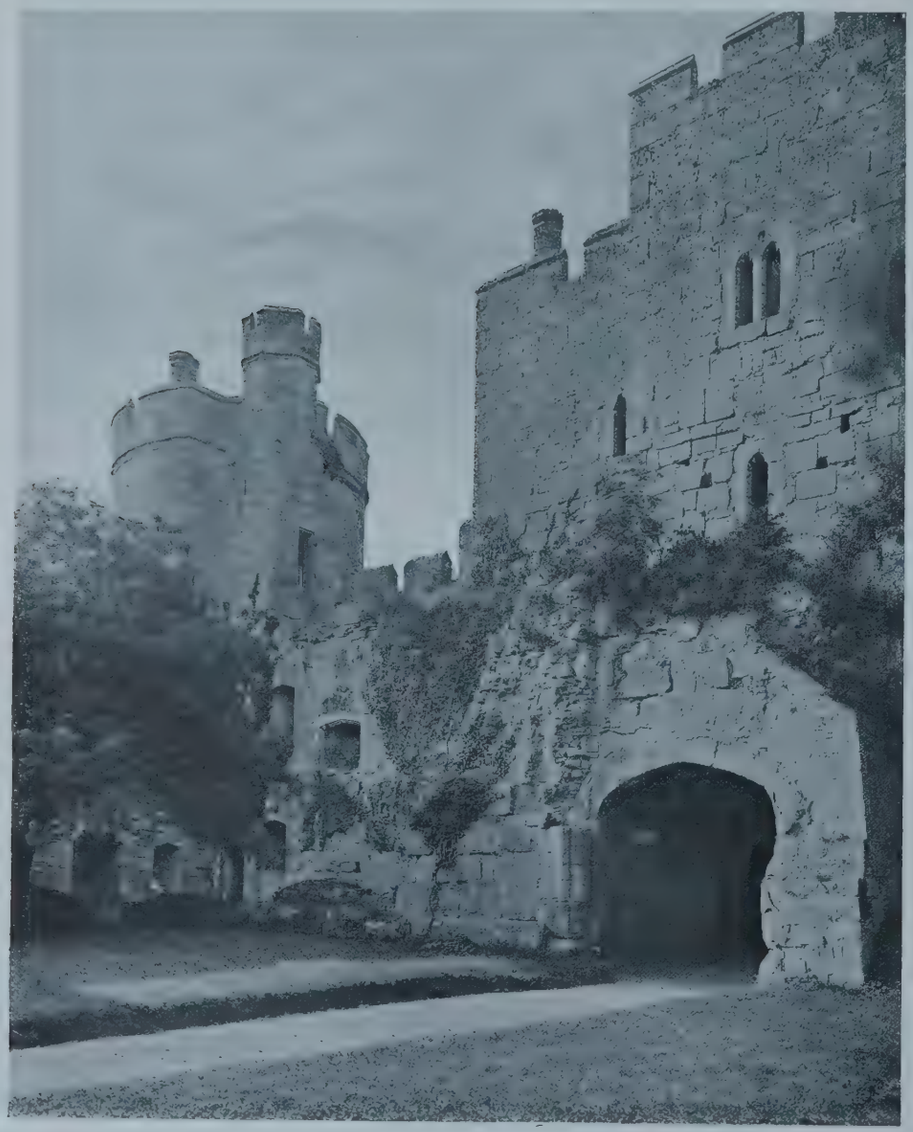
The other side of the shield is seen if one investigates the condition of affairs in France. Take, for instance, the Abbey of St. Denis, of which we possess a very detailed history. Before the English wars began its three great altars were encased and surmounted with frontals and retables of gold and jewels; they were adorned with golden crosses, one 21ft. high, others the height of a man. St. Denis possessed life-sized images of gold; the tombs therein of the Kings of France were covered with silver and enriched with enamel; its seventeen saints lay in splendid chasses, some of which were of gold and all magnificently adorned. But after the close of the English wars and the anarchy of the Armagnacs, two-thirds of all this splendour had been ravished away, altar-pieces melted down, tombs stripped of their precious metals, jewels plucked out, and the pride of the monks, who had used and preserved all these things, so broken that even what remained was obviously allowed to suffer yet further from neglect. The grim towers of Bodiam, Caister and scores beside that now diversify the landscape of England in their picturesque decay were created by the destruction of the finest flower in France of the great culminating period of Gothic art, which, perhaps, alone among the art epochs of the world, rivalled the culminating age of the arts in Greece. For all its apparent completeness when first viewed from outside, Bodiam Castle is not a building of which it is easy to make, on paper, a complete reconstruction; since, though the external walls are standing, and even their battlements, once cast down into the moat, have been recovered and replaced by the pious enterprise of the present owner, the interior dividing walls have been for the most part carried away. The patient industry of Mr. Harold Sands, however, has arrived at a fairly complete interpretation of the remains, and his paper in the Sussex



272.—PLAN OF THE CASTLE.

273.—GATE TOWER AND RUINS OF BARBICAN.

Archæological Collections, Vol. XLVI, is now the recognised authority on the subject. Sir Edward Dalyngruge abandoned the site of the old manor house of his wife's ancestors and chose a more defensible position for the erection of his new castle. At that time there was easy access to the foot of it by the tidal waters of the river Rother, then much wider and many feet deeper than to-day, and the site was admirably defended on two sides by extensive marshes. These have now been replaced by fertile meadows, and the whole aspect of the surroundings is changed. Dalyngruge levelled the ground for his castle some thirty feet above the river, a convenient stream enabling him to be independent of it for filling his moat. He appears also to have dug a harbour close at hand on the south. For a moat he excavated a rectangular basin 540ft. long by 352ft. wide, and stoutly embanked it at the east and south. Piling together the earth obtained by the excavation into the form of a central mound, he built the castle upon this, as upon an island, its stone walls going right down to a solid foundation below the water.



274.—THE GREAT GATE AND NORTH-WEST TOWER FROM INSIDE.

The plan of the castle (Fig. 272) was of a character so symmetrical and lucid that we can scarcely be wrong in concluding that it was borrowed from France. In fact, Mr. Sands cites the castle of Villandraut, near Bordeaux, as a specimen of a type from which Bodiam and some other English castles, as, for instance, Shirburn, in Oxfordshire, were evidently imitated. The lucidity of Bodiam extends to its details; for measured drawings of certain parts of it, made by Sir Martin Conway, proved to him that almost every stone, step, chamfer and other feature was either some direct multiple or simple fraction of a foot in dimension. Four-square, we have said, it stands, with a round tower engaged at each corner, an entrance at either end, and a smaller square tower in the middle of each side. The towers above the gateways and the square towers in the middle of the sides were machicolated; the round towers at the corners were only battlemented. The machicolations are of very massive character, more developed, perhaps, than in any other contemporary castle in this neighbourhood. English stone machicolations of the fourteenth century, such as may be seen over the gateways of Leeds Castle (page 201), are of rather a tentative character, lacking the decision of purpose shown at Bodiam.

275.—THE SOUTH SIDE.

The entrances were approached by timber bridges leading to drawbridges (Fig. 271), and the landward terminations of these bridges outside the moat were stone constructions, now but faintly traceable, but doubtless once strongly fortified; the broken bases of them only survive. The main gateway was very strongly fortified; to approach it from without, the fortified *tête-du-pont* just referred to had first to be passed, and then a bridge followed which stretched eastward out into the moat till it was opposite the north gate of the castle, some distance away. Here the route turned at right angles southward and passed through an elaborate vaulted and strongly fortified barbican, the ruins of which (Fig. 273) still retain portions of the spiral stone staircase by which an upper floor was reached, whence the portcullis and machicolations could be worked. There was a drawbridge outside this barbican, and another drawbridge before the main gateway. The modern pathway to the great gate coming directly from the north only follows part of this original crooked route. The actual gateway is very fine, and quite perfectly preserved. Over the arch, as noted above, are three stone shields with the arms of Dalyngruge between those of Bodiam and Wardeux, while, in compliment to his old leader, the builder of the castle carved the arms of Sir Robert Knollys over the south portal.

276.—EAST SIDE WITH CHAPEL WINDOW.

The great gate is defended by a succession of three portcullises (Fig. 270), and the interior space was covered, like the interior of the barbican, by a groined vault. There are small chambers for porters and for bowmen at the arrow-shoots on either side of the passage. Over the archway of exit into the courtyard (Fig. 274) there was a kind of gallery or platform, while the tower that rises above the passage is very massive and in some respects reminds us of the much greater one at Tonbridge. A single courtyard with chambers all round it forms the simple but efficiently planned interior. On the right or west side are the remains of what were evidently the living-rooms of the garrison, with some enormous fireplaces. On the left is the chapel, whose pointed three-light window is the largest in the castle and a prominent feature in the outside view (Fig. 276). South of it, all along the rest of this side, are the lord's chambers and those of his family. These also, on both storeys, have windows of a certain size with two lights. The end opposite the gate-house is divided into two parts by a passage-way leading through to the small south

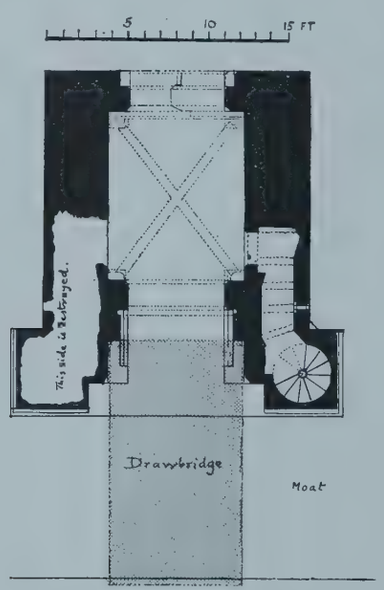
gateway (Fig. 275), which was evidently only for use by the great people. On one side of this passage is the hall (Fig. 277), which was the height of two storeys, but seems small for so big a castle. It may not have been intended to accommodate its whole population. The three arches on the other side of the passage led respectively to pantry, to buttery, and to kitchen passage, as at Northborough (Fig. 179) and Penshurst (Fig. 197). Two large fireplaces and a ruined oven remain in the kitchen. It will be observed that the large guardrooms or living-rooms for the general body of the garrison are adjacent to the kitchen on the other side, and may have served as dining-hall for the men-at-arms. This would account for the relative smallness of the banqueting-hall. A large exterior window divided by a double transom lights the dais end of the hall on the moat side, and there were, of course, other windows looking from the hall and

277.—LOOKING INTO GREAT HALL: CENTRAL SOUTH TOWER BEHIND.

other principal rooms into the courtyard. There was an entrance into the hall from the dais end, and another opposite the aforesaid great window. The latter gave access to a spiral staircase, jutting out in the angle of the courtyard, by which the lord's apartments on the upper storey were reached. His rooms were both large and lofty. They must have been bitterly cold in winter, notwithstanding the numerous fireplaces which remain, many of them in perfect condition. The ground floor is and always must have been damp. All the rooms that did not look into the courtyard, except the hall and chapel, were lit only by slits, and in particular the many rooms in the towers only obtained light from arrow-shoots.

They must have been dreary places to live in. Save for the loss of their floors, the towers are very perfectly preserved, and so are the steep and narrow spiral staircases, of which there are a great many. Till recently these were all accessible to visitors, who could ramble where they pleased about the battlements ; but since an unfortunate fatal accident occurred a year or two ago it has been found necessary to close most of them.

A remarkable feature in the sky-line is the number of perfectly preserved chimneys of a very simple and well designed form. Like Maxstoke, Bodiam was more amply provided with means of artificial heat than was usual in the fourteenth century. Behind the chapel is a little sacristy and the priest's chamber close at hand. The ruins, indeed, are sufficiently perfect to admit of a complete re-edification, conjectural only as to certain details. Some such idea was in Lord Curzon's mind when he purchased the place a few years ago, and, here as at Tattershall, called in the professional advice of Mr. Weir. So far, however, the work done—and that admirably—has consisted of the preservation and repair of all existing features and remains.



278.—PLAN OF THE BARBICAN.

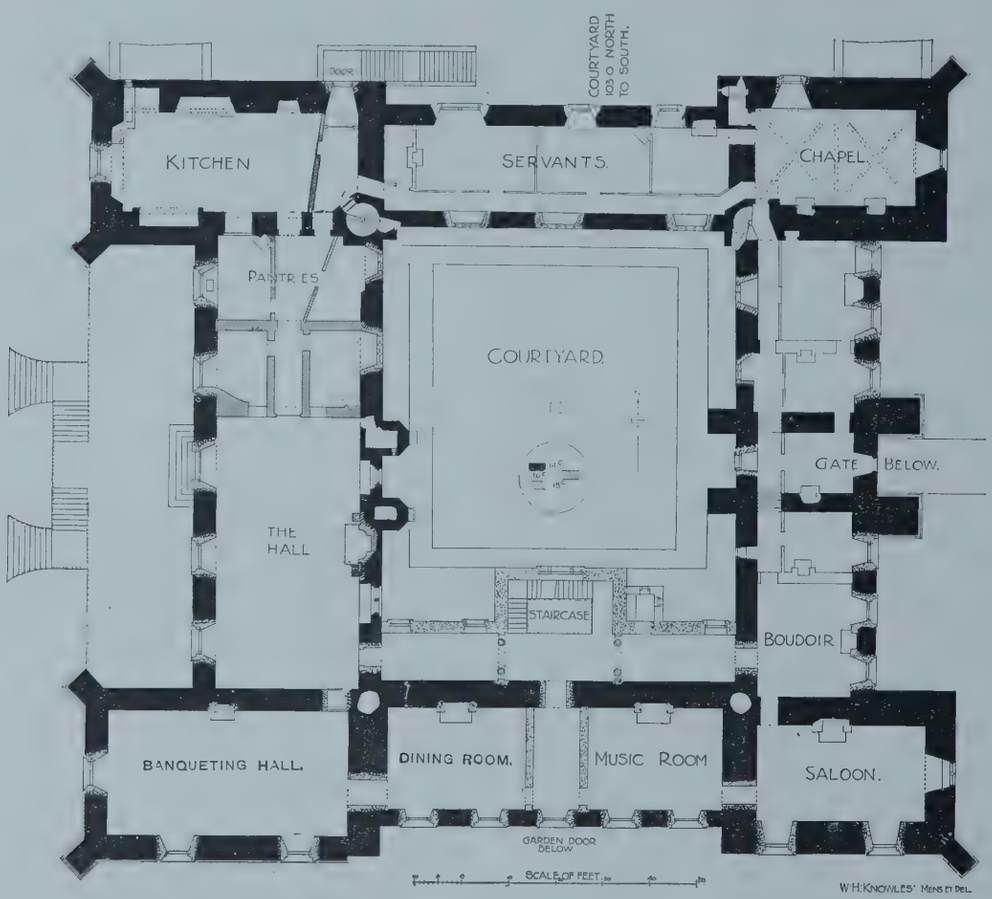
LUMLEY CASTLE, DURHAM

THERE are few castles in the North of England that are so charmingly placed as Lumley, especially as seen from the Great North Road. Standing as it does on a moderate elevation above the river Wear, from its south and west fronts the ground falls gently towards the river, while its east front overhangs the deep wooded ravine through which runs the Lumley beck. But Lumley Castle is noteworthy not so much for its delightful situation as for the interesting part its plan plays in the story of the development of the English house. Later than Maxstoke by forty-five years and than Bodiam by two, it is a further illustration of the transition from such great towers, or keeps, as those of Rochester, Hedingham and Castle Rising, to the early courtyard type of house, with ranges of chambers set about a quadrangle and with towers at the corners.

Middleham is a Yorkshire instance, but the ranges of chambers in this case are built about the Norman great tower, probably by Ralph Lord Nevill of Raby, shortly after 1388. Lumley Castle was built by Ralph Lord Lumley, who obtained a licence to crenellate from Bishop Robert Skirlaw in 1389, and another from King Richard II in 1392. Its plan is similar to that of

279.—THE GATE-HOUSE.
In the centre of the east front.

the other examples of the type we have been describing, consisting of four ranges of two-storeyed chambers disposed about a courtyard, and its picturesque outline is greatly enhanced by the bold masses of its battled corner towers, rising a stage above the main roofs (Fig. 281). A nearer approach shows that later changes have somewhat altered the original aspect of the castle, all the windows of the south and west fronts having been converted into large sashed openings. In the case of the hall, these have over them a row of oval lights (Fig. 285), and a doorway has been made in the middle of its length, opening on to a railed terrace, from which steps lead down to the garden. This doorway, since its insertion two hundred years ago, has been the "front door" of the house. The original entrance is in the middle of the east front, through a gate-house formed by two square turrets flanking a segmental-headed archway (Fig. 279), and spanned at the parapet level by a machicolated gallery partly hidden by traceried cusping. Over the archway are spirited carvings of the shields and crested helms of the builder, Ralph Lord Lumley, and of his kinsmen and



280.—FIRST-FLOOR PLAN.

brothers-in-arms, Sir John Gray, William Lord Hilton, Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, and Ralph Lord Nevill of Raby, arranged in pairs, and of their liege lord King Richard II. The rest of the east front has been refaced and the windows modernised. The gate-house passage opens into a charming quadrangular court (Fig. 282), gay in spring with the gorgeous blossoms of a number of laburnum trees that deck the grass plat, with its bordering of stone flags, which nearly fills the court. Most of the windows looking into the court are now of simple Tudor character, with uncusped lights, the work of John Lord Lumley. This remarkable man succeeded his grandfather, who died in 1544 and lived on till 1609. His veneration for the memory of his ancestors must have been an all-absorbing passion, and to him is due the long series of monumental effigies of his forebears collected in the neighbouring church of Chester-le-Street. He also began the array of family portraits still to be seen in the great hall at Lumley. On the west side of the castle courtyard, between the pair of semi-octagonal turrets that form, with the archway between them, the inner gate-house opposite the main entrance, John Lord Lumley

281.—" TOWERS AND BATTLEMENTS IT SEES
BOSOM'D HIGH IN TUFTED TREES."

282.—ACROSS THE COURT.

likewise added a pedigree in stone (Fig. 283). It takes the form of a double pile of sixteen shields illustrating his descents from the first Lord of Lumley about the time of the Norman Conquest, and ending with three other shields of the arms of himself and his two wives. These must have been set up after 1577. Near the south-west corner (Fig. 284) of the inner gate-house is one of the original pointed windows of the hall, and the place of another, now walled up by the mantelpiece within, may be seen between it and the gate-house turret. In the base of each turret is a charming and rare example of a lavatory fountain of classical design, with the cistern chamber behind.

At the time of the building of Lumley Castle it was still the custom to live on the first and upper floors, consequently the ground storey throughout consisted only of vaulted chambers and passages, while each of the towers had also a vaulted basement. These cellars, as they were, remain for the most part, but on the south side the original vault has given way to one carried by rustic-work columns and called the Canteen (Fig. 291). This forms part of certain works projected by the first Earl of Scarbrough, who died in 1721, but carried out by Sir John Vanbrugh during the lifetime of the second earl. Previous to these works access to the upper floors was by vices in the inner angles of the towers. But under Vanbrugh a new staircase was built on the south

283.—A PEDIGREE IN STONE.

The shields on this inner gate-house were set up by the Elizabethan Lord Lumley to illustrate his descent from a Conquest ancestor.

284.—THE SOUTH-WEST CORNER OF THE QUADRANGLE.

285.—THE WEST FRONT.

286.—ON THE ROOF.

side of the court. On the first floor (See plan, Fig. 280) the chapel must first be mentioned. It occupies the area of the north-east tower, and has a vaulted ceiling of two bays with plainly chamfered ribs. The east window remains unaltered, but the two north windows have been modernised, probably when the chapel was subdivided into two bedrooms, apparently in the eighteenth century. The room over the chapel is, happily, complete, and retains its original windows and a fine fireplace of the sixteenth century. The third-floor room also preserves all its ancient features, but has been subdivided into several small rooms. The various rooms along the north front do not call for any special remark.

The north-west tower contains the kitchen, which occupies the height of the first and second floors of the other tower. It is 44ft. long and 21½ft. wide, and has three large fireplaces. The great hall (Fig. 287) occupies most of the western range of the castle. It is 58½ft. long by 30½ft. wide, but its roof is hidden by a flat plaster ceiling. In the east wall, besides two of the original fourteenth century windows, is a stately Elizabethan fireplace (Fig. 288), surmounted by the armorial ensigns of John Lord Lumley and his first wife, Joan Fitzalan, who died on March 9, 1576–77. Both the dais and the gallery have disappeared, but the place of "the screens" is still marked by the three modern doorways in the north end that led to the buttery, pantry and kitchen.

287.—THE GREAT HALL.

Besides the series of family portraits, seventeen in number, which were painted for John Lord Lumley, there is a huge equestrian statue of Liulph, the reputed ancestor of the Lumley family, and a version of the well known portrait of King Richard II in the abbey church of Westminster, but here shown as presenting a patent of nobility to Sir Ralph Lumley, the builder of the castle. Here are also marble busts of King Henry VIII and his three immediate successors on the throne. The old withdrawing-room, which occupies the principal floor of the south-west tower, is now known as the banqueting hall (Fig. 289). The very interesting plasterwork with which the walls and ceiling are decorated is said to be the work of two Italians, brought here for the purpose by the second Earl of Scarbrough. The walls are divided into panels ornamented with suspended medallions with heads of Roman Emperors, and over the doorways and the fireplace are pretty bas-reliefs in stucco with figures of children. The mantelpiece is a handsome one of white marble. The panelled ceiling is flat, with a deep cove, with caryatides in the corners.

The main floor of the south front is occupied by the music-room and the dining-room (Fig. 290). The latter has the walls covered with characteristic early eighteenth century wainscoting, with large, broad panels and a deep cornice, and carved architraves to the doors. The fireplace is of white marble, and has over it in a rich frame a quaint picture of two small boys, the sons of the first Earl of Scarbrough, in long dresses adorned with lace. The ceiling is flat, and only slightly panelled. The room contains some good examples of contemporary furniture. The other portraits represent the first earl in armour; his daughter Mary, wife of the first Earl of Halifax, who died in 1726; General Lumley, brother of the first earl, also in armour; and Julia, daughter of Sir Christopher Conyers. The music-room is not wainscoted, but has a nice

288.—FIREPLACE IN THE GREAT HALL.

marble fireplace, with a pedimented frame over it for a picture, and a deep plaster frieze and decorated ceiling. Two of the pictures represent John Lord Lumley, full length and in armour and also in his baron's robes ; and the third, another John Lord Lumley, who died in 1544. The saloon occupies the first floor of the south-east tower, but contains little of note beyond one of the original fourteenth century windows and a rich white marble mantelpiece. The portraits represent Joan Fitzalan, the first wife of John Lord Lumley, and a picture of her husband painted in 1563. This room also contains a nice panel of tapestry and some good seventeenth century furniture. The room over the saloon is the State bedroom. Its southern

289.—THE BANQUETING HALL.

290.—THE DINING-ROOM.

windows belong to the eighteenth century alterations of the front, but the east window is an original one of the fourteenth century, with side seats. The view from the flat roofs of the corner towers is extensive (Fig. 286). It will be seen that the house, built by Ralph Lord Lumley in the fourteenth century, remained practically unaltered until the incoming of John Lord Lumley, to whom are due the various insertions of the Tudor period. But the most drastic changes were those carried out by Sir John Vanbrugh for the second Earl of Scarbrough shortly after 1721, and to him must be credited the alterations that give a classic touch to the west and south fronts. This Georgian clothing to a Plantagenet castle adds to the stateliness of the great pile and yields the added interest that arises from the unbroken ownership and inhabitance of a historic family whose members, at various periods, have worthily introduced, within and without, architectural and decorative features in the style of their day.

291.—THE CANTEEN.

RABY CASTLE, DURHAM

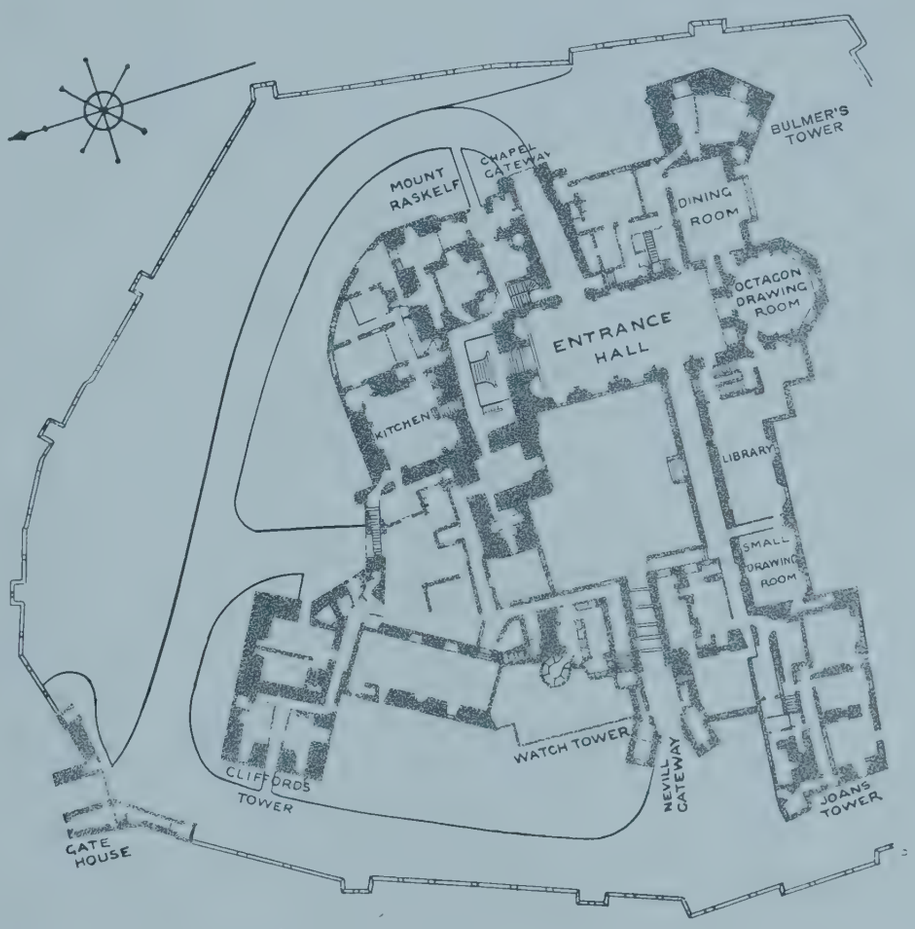
LIKE Bodiam and Lumley, licence to crenellate Raby was obtained during the last quarter of the fourteenth century. But its history by no means began then, for it has the rare distinction of having been held in Norman, Plantagenet and Tudor days by the male line of a Saxon family of Royal blood. The stock was prudent and prolific, and promised to continue in possession till our own day. But under Elizabeth came sudden disaster. The owner failed to have a son, and rose against the Queen. Raby knew its ancient lords no more ; but after remaining a while in the hands of the Crown it was acquired by a family rich in distinguished men, and thus it may be said of the Castle that though its architectural interest is great, yet its historic associations are greater still. They are wrapped up in the annals of the Nevills and Vanes, of whom the former produced not only great warriors and Churchmen, but a king maker who lifted his Plantagenet relations on and off the throne ; while among the capable members of the latter family two statesmen of ability stand forth.

292.—THE GATE-HOUSE.

If it is of the Nevills—of a race that took its name from the Norman Gilbert de Neuville, commander of the Conqueror's fleet—that we first have to speak, why is it claimed for Raby that noble Saxons were its mediæval owners ? That is the curious point. The Nevills of Raby were Saxons who assumed a Norman surname.

Raby is a portion or, as Surtees rather curiously terms it, a " constabulary " of Staindrop, and the park adjoins the one street of the little town. As early as the days of King Cnut, Staindrop was the capital of a wide and fertile district, and the King gave the whole of it to St. Cuthbert, that is, to the monks of the great religious house that was planted on the hill of Durham. In 1131 the Prior, in return for the annual payment of four pounds and a fat buck, to be presented on

St. Cuthbert's Day, granted the honour of Staindropshire to Dolphin, the son of Uchtred, which Uchtred had been the son of Gospatrick Earl of Northumberland and the husband of Elfgiva, daughter of Ethelred the Unready. Raby appears already to have been the chief house of the honour, and here in turn were seated Dolphin's son Maldred and his grandson Robert. Among their neighbours were the Nevills, of whom Geoffrey de Nevill, lord of Brancepeth, died in 1194, when his daughter and heir, Isabella, carried his estates to her husband, Robert Fitz Maldred, and thus it passed to their son, Geoffrey Fitz Robert. It will be seen that these descendants of Gospatrick had not as yet assumed a permanent surname, but now Geoffrey, though Raby retained its position as the headship of his great inheritance, took his mother's name and became known as Geoffrey de Nevill. The position of the family gave them opportunity of distinction on the Scotch borderland, and Geoffrey's son Robert was *capitanus regis*, or general of the King's forces beyond Trent. He outlived his son, who, nevertheless, helped to build up the family fortunes by marrying the heiress of Middleham, so that the territorial position of his descendants was as strong in Yorkshire as in Durham, and thus, until their fall, the Nevills ranked with the Percies and Cliffords as the great barons of the North. A century after Geoffrey Fitz Robert's death, the first distinct battle honour came to Raby, for in 1346 Ralph Nevill, its lord, led the van of the army that confronted the Scotch invasion under King David Bruce, who was threatening the City of Durham. The hosts met at Nevill's Cross, the Scots were put to flight and their King captured. Liberty was not regained without the passage of much time and money; and it was Ralph Nevill's son, John, who negotiated the ransom, and the sum of 24,000 marks, representing a purchasing power of half a million pounds at to-day's prices, was handed over to him. The father's public life was mostly spent in the North, keeping guard and battling against the Scots; but John's exploits took place in France, where he earned distinction as a young man. Then, after he succeeded as fifth Lord of Raby in 1367, we find him in command of a fleet, and later on at the head of a successful army in Aquitaine. We learn from Froissart how "le sires de Noefville," when he reached Bordeaux in 1378, was received "grandement" by the Mayor, archbishops, citizens and ladies, and being lodged in the Abbey of St. Andrew, remained seneschal of Bordeaux. We are told that during his service in those parts he conquered or had surrendered to him eighty-three walled towns, castles and forts. It was while he was there that he obtained from the Bishop of Durham—who exercised almost sovereign rights over that palatine county—licence to crenellate Raby.



293.—GROUND PLAN OF THE CASTLE.

He came home in 1381, and very likely during the seven years of life which yet remained to him the early home of Dolphin's successors was largely replaced by the late fourteenth century castle of which the bulk yet stands. Much, however, must certainly have remained unfinished when in 1388 he was succeeded by his son Ralph, who held the estates for thirty-seven years and became first Earl of Westmorland. Indeed, Mr. Pritchett, who read a paper on Raby to the

294.—CLIFFORD'S TOWER.

Archæological Association in 1886, gives the son credit for most of the work.

> As Lord John was nearly all his life fighting abroad and his son was as much at home bringing up twenty-three children, most of whom were born during the life of their grandfather, I think we may call the building of this magnificent Castle the work of the great Earl.

This appears correct, although, if we are to believe the "Dictionary of National Biography," he was only born in 1364, in which case he would only have been twenty-four when his father died. But as his first wife, after bearing him nine children, died in 1370, the birth date is clearly wrong.

Inheritor of upwards of fourscore manors, he had wealth for building purposes as well as for the upkeep of his various castles and the maintenance of a great household. He was of the few who were always on the winning side in a revolutionary period. It was for siding with Richard II when that King freed himself from the regency in 1397 that Ralph Nevill was created Earl of Westmorland. But two years later he contributed to Richard's fall by joining Henry on his landing in England, and to Henry he proved true when his great northern neighbours, the Percies, rebelled. His second wife, indeed, was Henry's half-sister, and thus he gained much by Henry's seizure

295.—THE WAY IN FROM THE GATE-HOUSE TO THE NEVILL GATEWAY.

296.—THROUGH THE NEVILL GATEWAY, LOOKING OUTWARDS.

of the throne. To the wife who had thus brought him within the Royal circle he felt he owed so much that the best part of his inheritance went to her children. The first wife's descendant became, indeed, second Earl of Westmorland and Lord of Raby; but Joan of Beaufort's eldest son inherited Middleham, and by his marriage with Alice de Montacute became, in her right, Earl of Salisbury. His youngest sister (the twenty-third child of her father) was the mother of Edward IV, whom his son, Warwick the King Maker, pulled on and off the throne.

The greatness of the Middleham branch had to be paid for, and the Wars of the Roses annihilated them; while the humbler, if elder, Raby branch got through the ordeal unscathed. Ralph, first Earl of Westmorland, lies in effigy between his wives in Staindrop Church. The splendid alabaster monument (Fig. 308) has received little injury. The rows of niches along the sides lie empty, and the little kneeling figures at the feet of the Earl and his Countesses have lost their heads. But it remains a notable example of an art which reached a high level in fifteenth century England.

297.—SOUTH-EAST ANGLE OF MOAT WITH BULMER'S TOWER.

When the earl died in 1426 his grandson Ralph succeeded him at Raby. He fought in France in his early days. An old chronicler calls him "as politique in peace as hardy in warre," and when war shifted from French to English soil and the deadly dynastic struggle which involved his uncle in ruin broke out, his "politique" characteristics prevailed. He appears to have been a mere observer of the holocaust of princes and barons, and died in the peaceful possession of his estates in 1484. He had no son, and as his brother John had fallen fighting against Edward IV at Towton in 1461, the future succession for a while hung in the balance. But the attainder which John had incurred was eventually reversed in favour of his son, and so the younger Ralph could succeed his uncle on the latter's demise. He is said to have died of grief in 1499 on losing his son, whereupon his grandson succeeded as fourth earl, and kept clear of the Pilgrimage of Grace which involved in ruin many of the Yorkshire baronage and gentry in 1537. Equally "politique" was his son Henry, the fifth earl, for although he was one of the signatories of the settlement of the crown on Jane Grey in June, 1553, he, nevertheless, supported the accession of Mary a month later. Indeed, he seems to have leant towards the old faith, for we hear that his son, whose adhesion to it proved his ruin, "was brought up in all probability as a Roman Catholic

298.—BULMER'S TOWER FROM OUTSIDE THE MOAT.

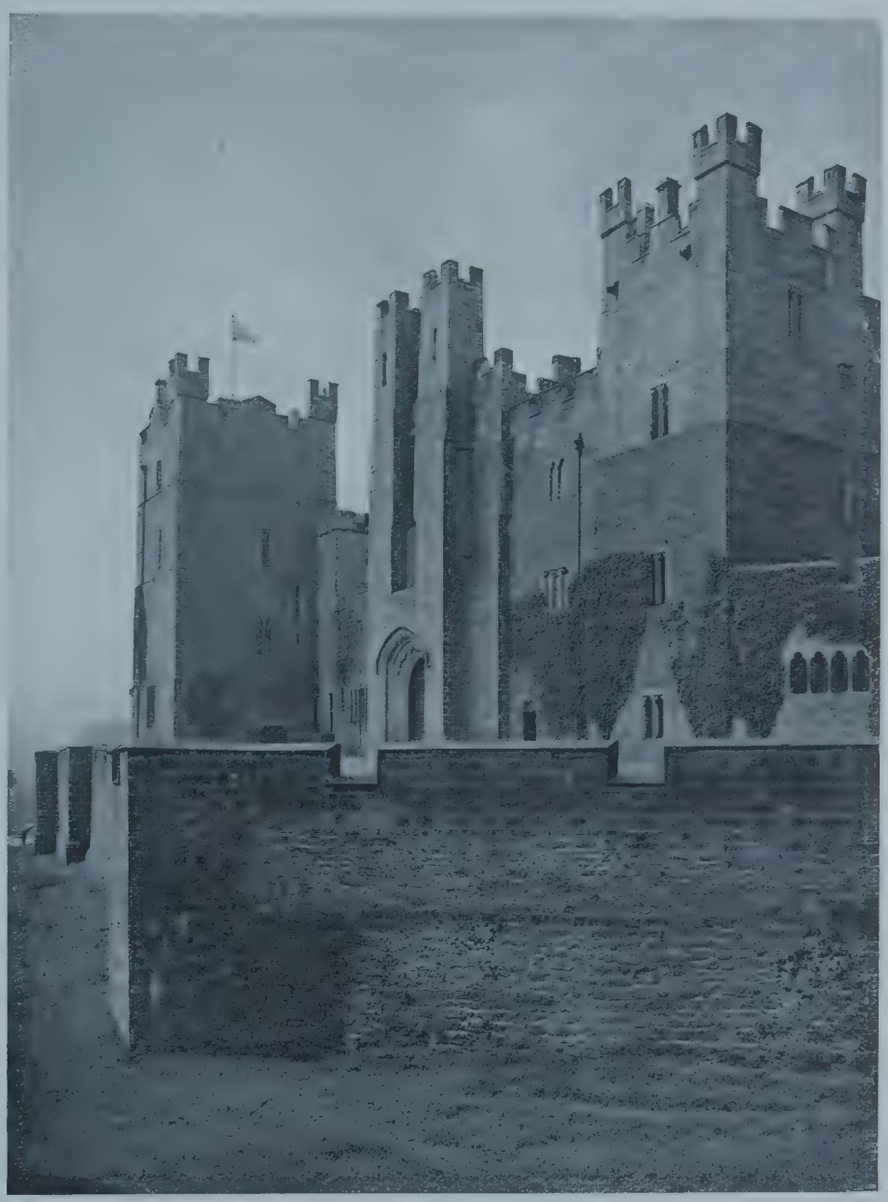
at Raby Castle." It was in 1569 that Charles, sixth and last Earl of Westmorland, failed in the family characteristic of either keeping aloof from dangerous political movements or of making a timely move to the winning side. Mary Queen of Scots had come to England in the previous year and, as we shall see at South Wingfield (page 310), was in the custody of the Earl of Shrewsbury, first at that strong Manor Place and then at Tutbury Castle. Her marriage with the Duke of

Norfolk, the first peer of the realm, was promoted by her friends and was warmly encouraged by the supporters of the religion of Rome, and especially by his brother-in-law, Westmorland. Catholic feeling was very prevalent in the northern counties, where the heads of the Nevill and Percy families led public opinion. The Government was alarmed and summoned the two earls "to repair to the Quenes majestie." This they refused to do, called together their partisans

299.—THE CHAPEL AND MOUNT RASKELF TOWERS.

and raised the standard of revolt. On November 13th they met in council in the Great Hall at Raby, and next day marched to Durham, where they restored the Mass. Thence they hoped to go south to Tutbury and liberate Mary, but on their way they heard that the Queen was removed to Coventry, and the northern earls frittered their time and strength in besieging Barnard Castle.

The royal forces grew in numbers and moved north, while the Earls' ill disciplined host melted away, and after another meeting in the hall of Raby they dispersed, and Westmorland fled to Scotland. Raby was occupied on behalf of Elizabeth in 1570, and the commissioners sent down to inspect reported that it was "lyke a monstrouse old abbey, and will soone decay yf it be not continually repayred, yt standeth so open and playne and subject to all wynd and wether." Half a century of neglect, however, did not produce so dire a result, although, when the new owner came into possession, he, no doubt, found plenty to do.



300.—THE EAST ELEVATION.
Showing the second earl's driving way below the chapel.

Meanwhile Earl Charles suffered attainder and forfeiture, and passing into Flanders lived there a score of years in obscurity. His death in 1591 ended the line of the Nevills, Lords of Raby, and we must turn our attention to the great fortified pile which they had built and inhabited. We have seen how, in 1378, John Nevill, while warring in Aquitaine, procured a licence to crenellate "all the towers, houses and walls in his manor of Raby": beyond the evidence of the now much altered fabric, that is the one surviving document as to the castle's date. And that must by no means be taken to mean that John Nevill began anew. He merely altered, enlarged and strengthened what he found. Nor is it likely that he had completed the task when he died in 1388. His son Ralph, first Earl of Westmorland, carried on the work, just as he also enlarged his other castles at Sheriff Hutton, Middleham and Brancepeth, which—as Mr. Pritchett has pointed out—show quite similar work. Each of his descendants, too, will have introduced something of his own time, so that even now traces of Henry VIII work are discoverable. Thus three centuries of further alterations do not altogether prevent us from forming some idea of

what the castle was like when Earl Charles fled from it at the approach of the Royal troops in December, 1569.

301.—THE SOUTH FRONT AS IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

A moat ran round an irregular area, some two and a half acres in extent, coming to a point towards the north, but with a straight south side where the water is still maintained, having in the eighteenth century been extended lake-like and reflecting the long elevation of the castle on its placid surface (Fig. 302). The only way across the moat was and, as the plan (Fig. 293) shows, still is by the gate-house at the northern apex. Portcullis, and probably also drawbridge, sources of strength in themselves, were further protected by the arrow slits and machicolations of the entrance tower (Fig. 292). The gate-house gave access to a court, with the great bulk of "Clifford's" tower (Fig. 294) facing you. The rectangular shape, thick walls and great height recall a Norman keep, and it is noticeable that an eighteenth century print gives it round-headed windows, transformed into sashes, indeed, but perhaps retaining the old form of the stonework. Yet it lacks the usual Norman flat buttresses and still retains one or two original fourteenth century windows. From this enclosure, with towers "at ech Ende as Entres," as Leland finds it in Henry VIII's time, he tells us that he passed into another "area," having a "great Gate of Iren with a Tour" at its entrance. This must refer to the "Nevill" gateway. That brought him to

302.—THE SOUTH FRONT AS ALTERED BY THE SECOND DUKE.

" the chief Toures of the 3 Court as in the Hart of the Castel," where " The Haul and al the Houses of Office be large and stately ; and in the Haul I saw an incredible great Beame of a Hart." But already the tendency to have more, if smaller, rooms had led to an alteration of the great chamber, once " exceeding large," but then " fals rofid and divided into two or three partes." Nothing is now known of it except that it lay next the hall, while of the original hall itself no detail is left but the remains of a stone screen, half buried by a later alteration of floor level. The kitchen, however, which lies north of the hall, survives almost untouched. Indeed, Mr. Pritchett held it to be " as perfect as the day it was built, with magnificent groining supporting a very beautiful ventilating turret of stone." Its most remarkable feature is the passage running round it in the thickness of the walls at window height, so that even the five steps down from it at each window aperture by no means bring you to the level of the floor (Fig. 306). There were three great chimney arches, " one for the grate, a second for stoves, the third for the great cauldron," as Pennant described them in 1772. He also mentions the oven—which was separate from the kitchen—as being " of the dimensions suited to the hospitality of those times, higher than a tall person, for the tallest may stand upright in it, and, I think, the diameter must be 15ft." He found it, however, turned into a wine cellar, divided into ten parts.

303.—THE GREAT HALL AS ALTERED BY THE SECOND DUKE.

The large hospitality and vast household of the later Nevills is shown, not only by the size of the Raby oven, but by the extent of the accommodation, since Leland declared it to be " the largest castel of logginges in al the North Cuntery." They were spread about in the numerous towers and their connecting buildings ; they, however, appear to have stopped short of the south-east or Bulmer's Tower (Fig. 298). The plan shows that the thick walls end to the east with the hall and to the south with the chapel building. Portions of windows, both Early Gothic and Henry VIII, have been found in the south wall of the chapel, and the hall had the usual fenestration on both its sides. Moreover, in Grose's " Antiquities," neither the plates nor the plan of Raby—dated respectively 1774 and 1776—show any trace of building or even curtain walls connecting hall or chapel with Bulmer's Tower, which stands out clear as a massive detached bulwark. Tradition makes this tower the oldest portion of the castle, and we may certainly date its lower storeys long before the days of John and Ralph Nevill, although we may hesitate to accept the view of Hutchinson, who, calling attention to its shape as that " of an ancient arrow head," opines that it may be " Danish " and date from the time of Cnut. No Bulmer had anything to do with its erection. The Bulmers owned Brancepeth, which their heiress brought to the Norman Nevills. Only through the latter, then, were the lords of Raby connected with the Bulmers, but the plan of calling sections of the castle after ancestors or relations of the family arose fairly early, for on the tower in question Leland saw " 2 Capitals B from *Berthram Bulmer*," while that at the south-west end was of " the Name of *Jane*, Bastard Sister to *Henry* the 4," that

is, of Earl Ralph's second countess. No doubt the other towers were already named as we know them, Clifford's and Mount Raskelf (Fig. 299), guarding the northern as Joan's and Bulmer's do the southern corners. Towards the centre of the west side rises the watch tower, and near by are the obliquely placed flanking turrets of the Nevill gateway (Fig. 295). Below the machicolation of the gateway are three shields of arms within the garter. The cross of St. George is in the centre, and Nevill and Latimer on either side. James Nevill became a Knight of the Garter in 1369 and his second wife was heir to Lord Latimer. The Nevill gateway is therefore his work, but he set it in front of an earlier entrance. That will account for the seventy feet depth of the passage through for the double portcullis and for the change in the vaulting (Fig. 296). That of the inner part is plainly built of rough stone, but through the great door we reach the section with finely moulded vaulting ribs, wrought in ashlar, corresponding to the detail work of the outer elevation of the gateway.

Across the court thus entered rose the great hall upon a low undercroft, as at Aydon, Markenfield and Brinsop, and, no doubt, like them, approached by an outside stairway. To the right, and joining on to the dais end of the hall, would be the " great chamber " and the " lodging " of the lord and lady. To the left rose a tower, through which the kitchen and its numerous " houses of office " may still be reached, while stretching out from the east wall of the hall lay the chapel over a postern entrance defended by a barbican. Thereon was a rough sculpture of the Nevill bull, and from its battlements there looked down stone figures, such as the Edwardian castle builders were fond of setting on their crenellations, and which still occur at Carnarvon and Chepstow, at Alnwick and Lumley, as well as at the humbler Brinsop. The barbican went long ago, but the figures may be seen perched on the gate-house, to which they were removed in the eighteenth century (Fig. 292), when, also, the bull was set up on the home farm gateway. Between hall and chapel was set a trefoil headed arcading (Fig. 309) which, when the usual wooden shutters were open, permitted those in the hall to look upon the high altar. It was only recently brought to light, having been walled up when the alteration of floor levels led to the practical destruction of chapel and hall as examples of mediæval architecture.

304.—THE SECOND DUKE'S DINING-ROOM.

From 1570 to 1626 Raby was mostly in the hands of the Crown, but in the latter year it was purchased by Sir Henry Vane the elder. At the time of the death of Ralph, first Earl of Westmorland, his nephew, then Earl of Stafford, but soon to be Duke of Buckingham, had at his castle of Tonbridge a chamberlain named Henry a Vane. This capable Kentish yeoman had equally capable descendants, who, in the sixteenth century, are knights and landowners. The branch that spelt the name Fane was the most successful, for Sir Thomas Fane, marrying Mary Nevill of the Abergavenny line, mated his son to the heiress of the Mildmays of Apethorpe, and gave him a claim to be granted the Westmorland title when he was made a peer three years before his cousin, Henry Vane, acquired Raby. Henry's father had died fighting with Henry IV of France when the son was only seven years old ; but being, as Lord Clarendon describes him, " of a stirring and boisterous disposition, very industrious and very bold," he soon got on in the world. Obtaining knighthood and Court employment, he made himself valuable to King

305.—THE LIBRARY.

James and King Charles, and under the latter became Privy Councillor and Secretary of State. Moreover, he was of those who knew how to use their Court influence and position to increase their fortunes, and his lands, worth at first £450 per annum, swelled to six times that value by the purchase of Fairlawn in Kent and the seigniories of Raby, Barnard Castle and Long Newton in the County of Durham. Fairlawn seems to have been his favourite seat, but when King

306.—IN THE KITCHEN.

Charles went to Edinburgh to be crowned in 1633, and again when he advanced as far as Berwick against the Scots in 1639, he was entertained by Vane at Raby, who is said to have employed Inigo Jones there to effect alterations. There is no proof of this, but it is certain that, both after the period of Crown tenure and after the Civil Wars, extensive renovation must have been necessary. During the latter period it fared badly. After being twice occupied by Royalists,

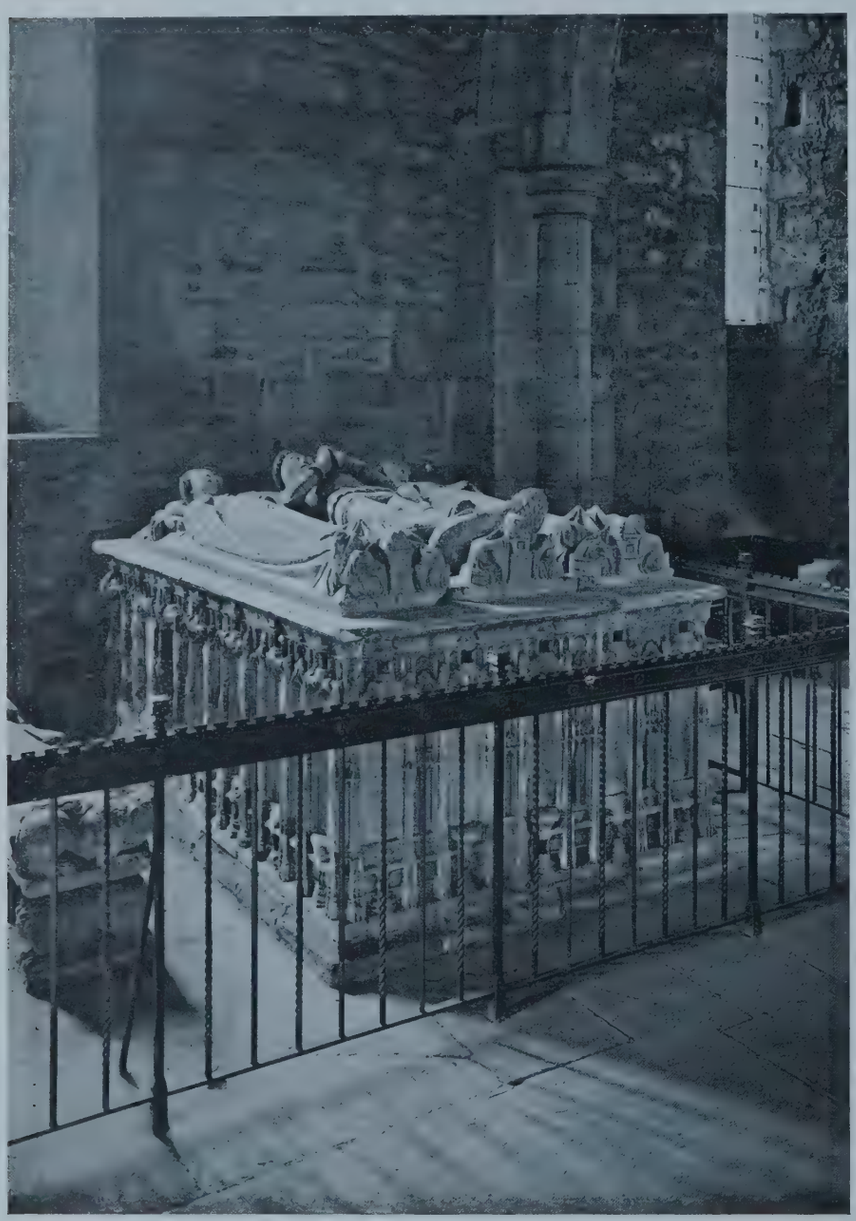
a Parliamentarian garrison was established in it, and its owner complains that: "In my losses, plunderings, rents and destructions of timber in my woods I have been damnified to the amount of £16,000 at least." Yet he was then on the Parliament's side. When Wentworth became Earl of Strafford he took the Raby barony as his second title, and this was more than Secretary Vane could stomach. He therefore fell in with the views of his son, the austere Puritan and theoretic Republican, and their evidence was fatal to the great earl. Charles was deeply offended and dismissed the elder Vane, who, though now siding against the Crown, took no active share in the strife that followed, and died, probably at Fairlawn, in 1656. His son, Sir Henry the younger, was a man of great ability and high character. But he was a failure. Living in a period when passions ran high and opinions were in a state of flux, he preferred measures to men, and when opportunism and compromise alone enabled rulers to retain their position he fixed himself immovably on the bedrock of his abstract principles, and never swerved from his determination to "sacrifice all to the divinity of his conscience." In quiet times and with public opinion in sympathy with his views he might have proved one of England's most honoured and successful statesmen; as it was, he pleased no party in power. He was imprisoned by Cromwell and beheaded by Charles II There was, however, no forfeiture of estates, which thereupon came

307.—MARQUETERIE WRITING TABLE OF WILLIAM III PERIOD.

to his son Thomas. The palatine rights of the Durham bishops being now greatly curtailed, the county was represented in Parliament. Thomas Vane was returned as one of its first members, but immediately after died of small-pox at Raby Castle. He was succeeded by his last surviving brother, Christopher, whose father's fate seems to have developed in him a faculty for watching which way the wind blew. He was of James II's Privy Council in the year that monarch fell; but William III created him Lord Barnard in 1698. This was not a reward for any active political services, for he is described as a quiet, studious man. But he had large means, not only having inherited the valuable Durham and Kentish estates, but also having married Lady Elizabeth Holles, co-heir to the Duke of Newcastle. This accession of wealth did not prove to the advantage of Raby and its next owner. Lord Barnard preferred Fairlawn and his younger son, who inherited it and his mother's large fortune. With Gilbert, the elder son, the parents had a fierce quarrel over his marriage with the daughter of Morgan Randyll, and, in order to spite him, meditated the entire destruction of Raby as being his future home.

If Lady Barnard's nickname of "Old Hell Cat" was deserved, the bitterness of this family feud is accounted for. We hear that in 1714 "of a sudden and in a few days" damage was done to the value of £3,000. Timber was cut, deer destroyed, lead stripped off, floors torn up, and

all the movables and furniture sold. Gilbert Vane filed a Bill in Chancery to stop the waste, and the Court ordered Lord Barnard to repair all damage ; but how far he obeyed the order does not appear. In his account of Raby Mr. O. S. Scott gives the 1714 sale as a reason why "none of the original furniture of the Castle now remains." But wear and tear must be taken into account, and still more the constant change of taste and fashion which induced successive wealthy owners of Raby to more than once revolutionise the whole interior. Some pieces of furniture, indeed, which, if not placed there by the first Lord Barnard, are of his time, may yet be seen in the great hall, while the library and small drawing-room still have features but little later than his time. The former (Fig. 305) will have been two rooms thrown together, perhaps, when the present mantelpieces were introduced a century or so ago. But the general impression, as given by its cornice, large panels and doorways, and by the Pannini architectural pieces in their carved frames over the fireplaces, is early Georgian. The same may be said of the small drawing-room, where we again find one of those compositions which resulted from Giovanni Pannini's study of the classic remnants of Rome, and which were eagerly bought by wealthy Englishmen in George II's time. It is placed over a white marble mantelpiece of the same reign that faces the windows, while the side walls are mainly occupied with great landscape pieces in carved frames of the period ; the one of Belgian scenery, by Jaques Artois, enhanced, like so many of his works, with figures by the younger Teniers ; the other by Poussin, or one of his school.



308.—RALPH, FIRST EARL OF WESTMORLAND, AND HIS TWO WIVES.

The second Earl of Darlington, who has just been mentioned, was grandson of the lady whom the first Lord and Lady Barnard objected to so strongly as a daughter-in-law. Her husband had succeeded to the Barnard barony in 1723, and, like his father, lived a quiet life. But their son Henry went early into politics, sitting in the House of Commons for Cornish boroughs until he was sent to represent his own county of Durham. The lucrative office of Paymaster of the Forces was only one means whereby he refilled the family exchequer, depleted by the large share taken by his uncle. He married Lady Grace Fitzroy, a granddaughter of Charles II by Barbara Villiers, Duchess of Cleveland. The death of her brother at Raby in 1774 left her

son heir to the Fitzroy property with some claim to the Cleveland dukedom, which in 1833 was bestowed on her grandson. Her husband succeeded to Raby and the barony in 1753, but it would seem that, many years before, Raby had been lent to him as a residence by his father. The date 1729 and the initials H. G. V. (Henry and Grace Vane) occur juxtaposed, and the early Georgian work that survives is likely to have been done by them at that time, for there is no trace of Gilbert Vane having lived there even after he became Lord Barnard. A year after he was succeeded in the barony by his son the latter was created Earl of Darlington, an honour which he only lived four years to enjoy. His son became second earl in 1758, and held title and estates till 1792. His alterations at Raby were large and drastic, but not such as we are now prepared to commend. He it was who, in order to be able to drive a carriage through the castle, raised the floor level of the chapel and the great hall by 10ft. (Fig. 300). To Hutchinson, who wrote a county history at the close of the eighteenth century, this seemed "the most judicious and elegant improvement the castle has received in any age," but we deplore that the earl thus destroyed their mediæval character. What new character he gave them cannot now be said, as they have again been altered almost to the extent of reconstruction. But some idea of what Raby was like under the second earl may be gathered from John Pennant, who was there in 1772 on his way to Scotland for his second tour. He handed his notes to his friend Francis Grose, then busy collecting matter and drawings for his "Antiquities of England and Wales," in the first volume of which are the account and plates of Raby. Pennant finds it "an irregular but magnificent pile and of

309.—ARCADING IN THE WEST WALL OF THE CHAPEL.

great size." The lower hall has a vaulted ceiling supported by six columns, all of which must have been reconstructed by the second earl to obtain headroom for the family coach, which has ever since driven right across this hall from the court and thence out into the chapel. Of the upper hall "the roof is flat and made of wood." This was of considerable age, dating probably from the time of the later Nevills, whose saltire was still ornamenting the centre of its cambered beams when it was pulled down seventy years ago. Pennant tells us how in the breakfast-room "modernisation" had caused semicircles to be "scooped out, I may say, of the walls, which are 9 feet 1 inch thick: a window is in each of these. I saw also a recess for a bed, gained out of the wall, and several other conveniences and communications quarried out of it; and in some places pillars are left, as in collieries, to support the roof."

The oil picture (Fig. 301) of the south elevation, which hangs on the main staircase, must date some time before Pennant's visit, for there is a sash-windowed building connecting the hall with Bulmer's Tower, whereas Pennant tells us that he found the tower quite detached owing to "some part having been burned." The removal of the barbican and other mediæval structures and enclosures had produced "a fine parade going quite round the Castle," as we have it now, and already the water was mostly confined to the south side.

No considerable changes were made by the second earl's son, who obtained the strawberry leaves in 1833 as a reward for his services in supporting the passage of the Reform Bill, and thus became first Duke of Cleveland. His heart was with his hounds—he was Master of the Raby

pack for over half a century—and with his racehorses, his great success with which is evidenced by the innumerable silver-gilt cups which still load the dining-room sideboard (Fig. 304). So deep and capable was his management of his stud that after his death " Sylvanus " described him as " a very Jesuit of the Ring and the Confucius of gambling in all its branches." Shortly after his death in 1842 his eldest son, the second Duke of Cleveland, employed William Burn to remodel the Castle. Trained in Smirke's classic office, he set up for himself in Edinburgh, but soon got so large a practice south as well as north of the Border that he moved to London in 1844, the very year that he began operations at Raby in what he thought a Gothic manner. The sash windows and other exterior Renaissance features were replaced by others of Edwardian type, more or less copied from the few original ones that had survived. But further accommodation was needed, and the south front put on its present appearance (Fig. 302). On to the old south end of the hall, as seen in the eighteenth century picture, was built a great octagon forming a new drawing-room on the ground floor and making a 52ft. long addition to the great hall above (Fig. 303). He blocked up the eastern windows of the hall and, condemning the old roof as " showing signs of decay," replaced it by one of his own design as seen in the illustration, which also shows the half-buried remnants of the old stone screen with a new doorway breaking through it.

The contents of the hall are much to be preferred to its structure. Here, in the foreground, may be seen a marqueterie table, which is separately illustrated (Fig. 307), while over Burn's new fireplace (where once a window stood) hangs Hoppner's full-length of Elizabeth Russell, the first duke's second wife. The walls are lined with an interesting collection of family portraits from Sir Henry Vane the elder down to his descendant, the late Lord Barnard. But the artistic honours must be divided between the Hoppner and Sir Joshua's admirable canvas of Captain Raby Vane, one of the first Earl of Darlington's sons.

The space between the extended hall and Bulmer's Tower was filled in with a new dining-room (Fig. 304), imitative of various styles, but essentially of Burn, and not a sympathetic setting for the very fine Georgian marble mantelpiece, no doubt dating from the second earl's alterations and brought from one of the State Rooms in Clifford's tower. Here, again, we are met with pictures of great excellence. There is a " Sir Henry the Elder " by Mierevelt, an " Alexander Pope " by Kneller, and a " Lady Darlington " by Sir Joshua Reynolds. Rembrandt and Gerard Dou represent the Dutch School, while it is uncertain whether the large piece above the fireplace represents Jakob Jordaens and his wife by Rubens, or Snyders and his wife by Van Dyck, but the colouring and treatment make the latter probable.

Burn wrought his will upon the ancient Castle from 1844 to 1848, and since then nothing of great importance has been done. The second duke was succeeded by two brothers in turn. With the death of the last of them in 1891 not only the dukedom, but also the earldom, came to an end. For a male successor it was necessary to go back to Gilbert, second Lord Barnard, whose younger son, Morgan, is ancestor to the late baron, who until his death in 1919 took a most intelligent interest in his splendid house and added many touches that enhance its picturesque charm and its architectural value.

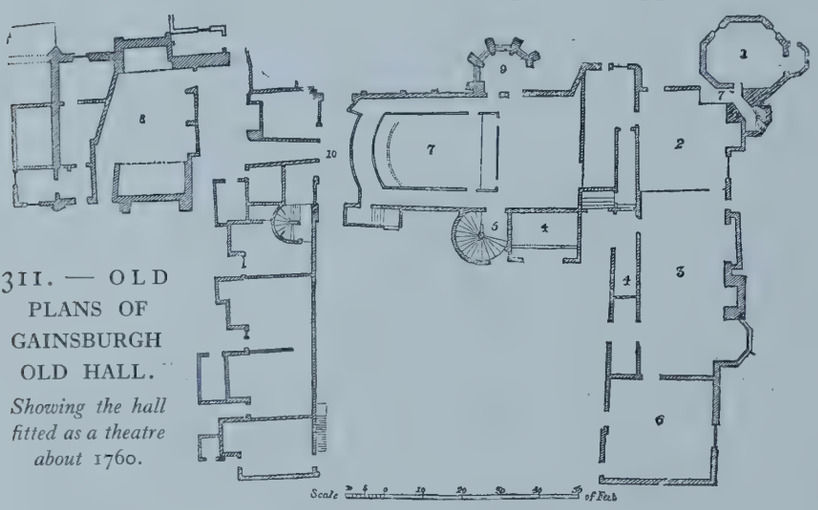
GAINSBURGH OLD HALL, LINCOLNSHIRE

LYING by Trent's side, thirty miles from where that river joins the Humber, yet is of sufficient depth to take shipping, Gainsburgh—or Gainsborough, as it is modernly spelt—is a place of ancient inhabitance. It was the home of the Saxon Gainii, the daughter of whose Eorl was wooed by Alfred the Great, and married to him while he was yet a stripling in the year 828. It is more than doubtful, however, whether the nuptials were held at Gainsburgh, and a death rather than a wedding will have been the first royal event to take place within the moated circuit of its hall. In 1013 Sweyn Forkbeard the Dane had harried and subjugated the greater part of England, "and all the people held him for full King." In the autumn he went to Gainsburgh, where his fleet could lay up for the winter. Here death overtook him, caused, as the English loved to think, by the ghost of their martyred king, for a chronicler asserts that: "When all considered him in perfect health he was slain suddenly, it is supposed by S. Edmund, in the Hall at Gainsburghia, surrounded by his army, and the Danes proclaimed his son Cnut King."

310.—COURTYARD: PART OF THE SOUTH SIDE.

The site of the hall wherein this tragedy was enacted was, in all probability, that where the present building stands, although no surviving feature dates back beyond the fifteenth century. Nor is it likely that any earlier mediæval house of real importance can have stood here. King Stephen, indeed, "conceded" to a partisan, whom he made Earl of Lincoln, "his Castle of Gainesburgh and his bridge over the Trent," but castle and bridge were among the Earl's projects rather than his realised works. For centuries after this there was no bridge, and of a castle there are no annals. "A capital messuage worth 10 shillings per annum" is the description of the Hall in 1281, when it was the property of William de Valence, half-brother of Henry III. Even that decayed under his successors, and we hear only of the "site of the manor" a century later, when an heiress brought it to a cadet of the house of Percy. Some fifty years later it again passed in the female line, and the marriage of Elizabeth Percy to Sir Thomas Burgh brought it to a family who, adopting it as a residence, created the fine fifteenth century house of which such considerable portions remain.

The first of the Burghs to rise to eminence was John's friend and Henry III's chief Minister, Hubert Earl of Kent. Whether Sir Thomas was among his descendants is doubtful: indeed, we know little of him except that he was the son of a Yorkshire squire. Even his share in the building of the Hall cannot be ascertained; much of it we certainly owe to his son, the second Sir Thomas, who was a man of greater importance and sufficiently to the fore during the Wars of the Roses to be held fortunate in that he lived through them unscathed. Not so his house, which suffered from an attack by his political opponents in 1469. Sir Thomas was a Yorkist, and remained on Edward IV's side when the Nevilles deserted him in disgust at the ascendancy of the Woodvilles. We read in Hall's "Chronicle" how, when Warwick was holding Edward in semi-captivity at Middleham Castle, the King—



311. — OLD PLANS OF GAINSBURGH OLD HALL. *Showing the hall fitted as a theatre about* 1760.

> had libertie diuers dayes to go on huntynge, and one daye on a playne there met with hym Syr William Stanley Syr Thomas of Borogh, and dyuers other of hys frẽdes, with suche a great bend of men that neither his kepers woulde nor once durst moue him to retorne to prison agayn.

Early in the following year there was a Lancastrian rising in Lincolnshire which assumed large proportions before Edward personally met and defeated the rebels. Of this rising one of the incidents is thus described by the contemporary annalist, John Warkworth:

> In the moneth of Marche the Lord Willowby, the Lorde Welles, his sonne, Thomas Delalond, Knyght, and Sere Thomas Dymmoke, Knyght, the Kynges champyon, droff oute of Lyncolnschyre Sere Thomas a Burghe, a Knyght of the Kynges howse, and pullede downe his place.

The last phrase seems to make it easy to assign an exact date to the building. If it was pulled down early in 1470, and yet was fit, as we hear, for a two days' entertainment of Richard III in 1484, it must have been re-erected by Sir Thomas Burgh during the interval. But the haphazard and composite character of the disposition and material of all its fifteenth century portions tells against the theory that they were built at one time and from a homogeneous plan. They look like gradual accretions, the result of various repairs and enlargements covering a considerable period, although all are within the century. "Pulling down" is, therefore, likely to be a quite exaggerated expression for the damage done. Yet Sir Thomas, after the landing of Edward at the mouth of the Humber in March, 1471, and his easy reassumption of the sovereignty, no doubt found his "place" very considerably wrecked, and initiated extensive works of re-erection and repair. Except for the momentary set-back in 1470, he succeeded in keeping well on top of Fortune's wheel. His loyalty to Edward IV secured that King's favour, and he obtained the Garter from him or his successor, who was at Gainsburgh in 1484. But before Bosworth was

312.—THE TOWER.

fought he had shown sufficient sympathy with the Lancastrian cause to be a *persona grata* to Henry VII, at whose Coronation he was a pall-bearer, and by whom he was called to the House of Peers as Lord Burgh of Gainsburgh in 1487.

We may, therefore, certainly accept him as the chief maker of the Old Hall, while bearing in mind that he probably incorporated portions that had survived the Lancastrian pillage of 1470. The conspicuous and elaborate stone oriel, forming five sides of an octagon, that projects from the centre of the north side (Fig. 313), associates curiously with the timber framing amid

which it is placed. It is, indeed, the only portion of the whole building entirely composed of stone, which is only elsewhere used for the window frames and mullioning of some of the brick built sections such as the tower occupying the north-east corner (Fig. 312). It is, therefore, unlikely that the oriel was planned and erected at the same time and as part of the same scheme as the timber-framed hall (Fig. 317) and adjoining rooms. It is more reasonable to conclude that it belonged to another scheme, but was incorporated with the hall as its oriel when the hall was built. On the south side of the hall there is a timber-framed projection (Fig. 310) containing the main staircase — a very large example of the newel type — and we should have expected the oriel to have been quite similar to it in material and design, and, therefore, resembling that at Ockwells. Ockwells is a very perfect example of a fifteenth century timber-framed house and was built by Sir John Norreys, who was Squire of the Body to Edward IV, and who completed the house in his reign. It is, therefore, contemporaneous with the second Sir Thomas's work at Gainsburgh, and the two halls are much alike in construction. The roofs are of the arch-braced type without hammer or collar beams. The principals are curved and moulded and spring from far down on the face of the walls. They divide the Ockwells roof into four compartments, but at Gainsburgh, which is both longer and wider, there are five compartments, the louvre rising from the central one and being supported by two curved uprights rising from a massive tie-beam placed at wall-plate height between two of the principals, and, therefore, introduced far more for the sake of supporting the louvre than for tying the walls, which have external wood buttresses to assist in counteracting the roof thrust. Originally the ends of the principals rested on wooden corbels representing human figures—like the earlier ones at Penshurst—and Mr. Baines, who now inhabits the east wing of the Hall, believes that one of these still exists in the town. When, however, the " restoration " of the Hall was entrusted, sixty-five years ago, to a railway engineer, he triumphantly replaced them with others made of what was, no doubt, his favourite material—cast iron—and these yet remain and appear in the illustration. The hall is lit on both sides by high-set windows with cinquefoil heads and moulded mullions of oak, and at the east end is the typical triple doorway leading to the offices, but the screen has disappeared. The now destroyed corbels appear to have been the only portions of the oak that were carved. The hall depended for its dignified presence on the excellence of its form and proportions and the richness of its moulded beams and window frames. In reticence as well as in material it therefore is in contrast with its oriel, which is almost as highly decorated as a contemporary one at Nevill Holt (Fig. xxvii). The elaborate tracery of its windows, the crocketed finials of its buttresses, the fine scheme of its ribbed groining (Fig. 318) starting from delicate clustered shafts and ending with a coronal pendentive, all combine to make it, within and without, a notable little example of Late Gothic work; while the close resemblance of its form and features to those of the neighbouring fifteenth century church tower led Adam Stark, the early nineteenth century historian of Gainsburgh, to attribute both to the same designer.

313.—FROM THE NORTH-EAST.
Showing the Elizabethan windows of the east wing to the left and the kitchen buildings to the right.

At the time it was completed, and before decay set in, the Old Hall took the form of a three-sided building (plan, Fig. 311) with a fourth side composed of a gate-house and curtain walls.

Subject to alterations and renovation all this has remained except the fourth side, which now lies completely open, making the house a hollow square. Originally the gate-house stood at the northern edge of a mart or market-place. South and east lay the town; to the west, with a certain amount of intervening space, now built over, ran the river Trent. To the north, beyond a then existing moat, lay open country, and Mr. Baines remembers it, more than half a century ago, still open, although now a thriving, but scarcely picturesque, suburb spreads over a considerable area, the population of the town having trebled in the interval. Although the east wing shows Elizabethan work in its fenestration and other details, its fabric is certainly earlier, and there is every reason to believe that before Thomas Burgh died, ten years after he had been created Lord Burgh, his house had assumed the form indicated. His estate, no doubt, provided the oak which was the material principally used. The building facing the gate-house, and of which the centre was occupied by the hall, was timber framed on both sides. The two wings likewise were thus contrived towards the court, but the exterior elevations were of brick, and of brick also were the tower at the north-east and the kitchen at the north-west corners. The use of brick developed in the Eastern Counties during the course of the fifteenth century, as we shall find at Tattershall (page 291). Oxburgh in Norfolk is one of the remaining examples of brick-built moated houses erected in the reign of Edward IV, and its towers show the same scheme of crenellation, corbelled out on trefoil-headed machicolations composed of moulded bricks, as that at Gainsburgh. The kitchen building suffered more than the tower, which it balances at the opposite end of the north elevation. It needed to be re-roofed and otherwise repaired by Mr. Somers Clark towards

314.—PART OF THE NORTH SIDE.

315.—FROM THE EAST WING DOOR.
Showing the projecting staircase gable with windows blocked up.

the end of last century. The interior arrangement, however, is nearly complete and is very interesting. From the hall screens the middle doorway leads down a passage to a serving-room, the centre of whose west side is occupied by a large hatch. Left of this is a small doorway giving on to a narrow newel stair leading to chambers above the serving-room. To the right is the ample arched entrance to the kitchen, which rises up to the roof, its massive oak beams supporting a central louvre. The north and south walls are mainly taken up by immense fire arches of brick. The same space to the west is occupied by a recess divided into two floors by a gallery, while in each of three corners—the fourth bay occupied by the staircase—a pair of superimposed little rooms, probably devised as cubicles for scullions, are contrived. The kitchen building juts out far beyond the west wing (Fig. 316) and composes well with it. The wing arrangement also is curiously instructive of fifteenth century habits. Towards the court it was a timber-framed building down to the ground—brick having been substituted on the ground floor in the nineteenth century. But the exterior elevation was, and is, of brick, and from the face of the wall projects a row of delightfully designed chimney-stacks with crow-stepped gables and octagon shafts, each associated with a little building containing closets with trefoil-headed windows on the first and second floors. This wing, now largely ruinous and gutted, must have been divided up into a whole series of chambers, reached by a newel stair devised in the general oak framing of the internal divisions. It is held to date from the later period of the first Lord Burgh's life, and to have been for the accommodation of the enlarged household of his prosperous old age. Towards the court it is lighted by cusp-headed and mullioned oak windows bracketed out on richly moulded projecting sills, and there are more important windows of the same type on the facing elevation of the east wing. This was principally taken up by a great and fairly high room on each of the two floors. The upper room, between two bay windows, has a great fireplace with the Burgh arms in the spandrels—one of the various features that show that the wing was built by that family, although it was considerably remodelled by and has on its gable end the arms of the family that succeeded them as the sixteenth century closed. Before his death in 1496 Lord Burgh had built a chantry on the south side of the church, and there they laid him in a tomb, as his will directed, "with two images or figures thereon, viz., of me in armour and of my wife with our arms, and the days of our obits; and I will that the image of me have my mantle of

316.—THE WEST WING.

the Garter, and a garter about my leg." Church, chantry and tomb were swept away in 1736, and a Late Renaissance building set up against the Gothic tower, which was retained. Nearly a century later, as Adam Stark tells us, the image in alabaster of Lord Burgh was found carelessly thrown among the loose earth covering a vault.

317.—THE HALL, LOOKING WEST.

By his wife Margaret, daughter of Lord Roos and widow of Sir Thomas Botreaux, Lord Burgh had a son Edward, who succeeded him and was alive certainly as late as 1520. But though, as a young man, he had been to the fore and in 1494 received at the hands of the Princess Margaret a " ring of gold with a dyamant," as a prize won in a tournament, yet soon after he

became "destracted of memorie" and able neither to take his seat in the House of Lords nor to manage his property. So he was known only as "Sir Edward Borough," and his estates were in the King's hands until his son came of age. The inheritance of a wealthy mother and a share of monastic spoils made Thomas, third Lord Burgh, a rich man, able to offer a brave show at such expensive functions as the Field of the Cloth of Gold and the Coronation of Queen Anne Boleyn. At the Old Hall, too, he entertained Henry VIII in 1541. A son and then a grandson

318.—INTERIOR OF THE HALL ORIEL.

followed him in possession of his title and estates. Thomas, fifth Lord Burgh, born "at his father's fair house at Gainsburgh," made his mark at the Court of Elizabeth, and reached some distinction in her service. He received the Garter in 1593, and was sent as Ambassador to Scotland in the following year. In 1597 he was appointed Lord Deputy to Ireland, but before the year closed he was dead, and his son's demise soon after ended the line. Like many a Tudor courtier who wanted to be lavish in expenditure without learning how to tap the sources whence

wealth flowed under that dynasty, the fifth Lord Burgh involved himself in difficulties, and shortly before his death the Gainsburgh manor had passed by purchase to William Hickman. His grandfather, Walter, was one of the many cadets of good family who sought and found fortune in the trade of London under Henry VIII. Walter's son, Anthony, followed in his father's footsteps, and both traded and married in the City. Thus William could purchase great estate and, marrying a Willoughby, pose as a Lincolnshire magnate meet to be knighted when James I travelled south from Scotland to take up the English sovereignty in 1603. He it was who renovated the east wing of the Old Hall, which continued to be the home of his descendants until after 1714, when Sir William Hickman bought the neighbouring estate of Thonock. Thonock thereupon became, as it remains, the family seat, and the Old Hall at Gainsburgh saw strange times. Under date August 2nd, 1759, John Wesley makes the entry in his journal: "I preached at Gainsburgh in Sir Nevil Hickman's great hall." Soon afterwards a Mr. Hornby obtained a lease of the premises with a view to establishing therein a linen factory. The scheme was a failure, and the house where the Burghs had entertained their sovereigns was cut up into tenements. For such purpose the great hall was not opportune, and so the lessee sublet it as a theatre for fifty pounds a year, reserving for himself and wife "free admission on each night of performance to the centre box." The hall suffered a good deal in the transformation. We see from Adam Stark's plan that it was lengthened to form the stage, and that the minstrel gallery was removed to allow of curving rows of seats. In 1790 the "Topographer" describes the moat as still in part existing. It speaks of various large gardens in good condition and of a "large range of windows curiously painted." But the hall is still a theatre, while the house "contains a great many rooms inhabited by families rent free." Nothing further is recorded until Adam Stark wrote his "History of Gainsburgh" some seventy-five years ago. He tells us that "The Old Hall forms at the present time three parts of a quadrangle open to the south. The whole front is principally constructed of large oak timber framing, but much of the back part of the building, as well as the whole of both wings, is of brick very beautifully put together." The owner was then Henry Bacon. Sir Nevil Hickman, who had allowed Wesley to preach in the hall and, to the preacher's surprise, had thanked him for the sermon, was the last male of the family, and died in 1781. His daughter Frances succeeded, and "lived a good deal retired at Thonock Hall." She never married, but made a will in favour of a cousin, who was the third son of the premier baronet, Sir Edmund Bacon, the direct descendant of the great Lord Keeper. Henry Bacon, who succeeded Miss Hickman in 1826, took the Hickman name and lived till 1862. Thus he was in possession when, in 1848, the railway came to Gainsburgh. This was expected to give a great lift to the town, and additional rooms for entertainments were demanded. Portion of the Old Hall was offered for the purpose, and a public subscription was raised to turn the large upstairs room of the east wing into a ballroom. Mr. Bacon Hickman, at the same time, had much repair done to the decayed premises, the whole work being carried out, as already mentioned, by the engineer to the railway, who probably did less harm than an "eminent architect" of those days was likely to have wrought. Mr. Bacon Hickman's great-nephew, Sir Hickman Bacon—inheritor also of the 1611 baronetcy—has been the owner since 1872, and, aided by Mr. Baines, who is his agent and lives in the east wing, has been at pains to stem decay and yet preserve the full flavour of the ancient work. Thus Gainsburgh Old Hall, despite many vicissitudes, remains a valuable document worthy the careful study of all students of our fifteenth century domestic architecture.

TATTERSHALL CASTLE, LINCOLNSHIRE

TATTERSHALL, as we know it to-day, is a mere fragment of the great castle in which a Lord Treasurer of England housed himself when Henry VI was King. Yet what remains is impressive and full of illuminating instruction on our architectural and social past. It should, therefore, take rank as a valued national monument, and it is a striking commentary on our corporate indifference to such matters that we recently let a private person acquire it and begin making a profit out of its final destruction. He then left it to another private person to purchase the site and the scattered features in order to repair the damage done, and, with great labour and loving care give us a faithful presentment of what the "keep" had originally been. The loss of so original a building, curiously planned and finely wrought, would have been a real misfortune, and the civilised world will owe a lasting debt of gratitude to Earl Curzon of Kedleston for stepping in and saving it.

Hugh le Breton, who held the manor of Tattershall in succession to his father, the Conquest grantee, founded the neighbouring Abbey of Kirkstead in 1139. In a surviving chapel close to the abbey ruin there is a Purbeck marble effigy of a knight clad in armour such as prevailed

319.—BASE OF THE KEEP FROM THE NORTH-WEST.
Showing foundation of a thirteenth century tower, and also the guard house and church beyond.

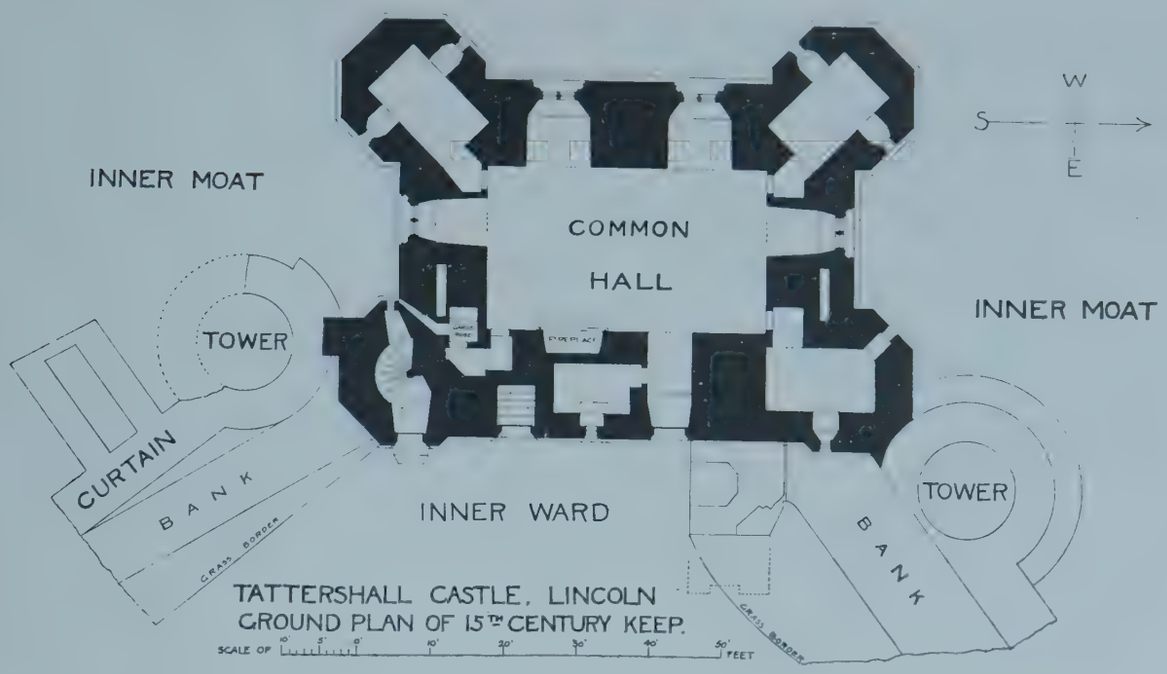
320.—THE KEEP FROM THE SOUTH-WEST.
Showing marks of repair after the lightning ran down the west front.

in the first quarter of the thirteenth century. No doubt it represents Robert de Tatesale, who died in 1212, leaving a son to whom, eighteen years later, Henry III " conceded that he might freely and without hindrance cause to be made strong a house of stone and lime upon his manor of Tattershall." The licence to build was followed in 1239 by a licence to crenellate, and there arose out of the moat a stone castle girt with battlemented rampart walk, and set at intervals with round towers of thirteenth century type. When, only five years ago, the Thoroton Society met at Tattershall Dr. Mansel-Sympson informed them that " no remains of this Castle are known to exist." Now, thanks to the careful survey and excavations carried out by Mr. W. Weir, to whom Lord Curzon entrusted the work of reparation in 1912, much of the foundations of the

thirteenth century work has been brought to light, and the bases of two of the round towers appear at the sides of the latter keep (Fig. 319).

The male line of the original castle builder came to an end in 1305. But Robert, third Baron de Tateshale, had aunts, of whom Joan, wife of Robert de Driby, became possessed of the Tattershall manor, and was followed by her male descendants till 1367. It then went to Maud de Bernak, who was her great-great-niece, and who brought the estate to her husband, Ralph Baron Cromwell. The Cromwells came from a Nottinghamshire village of that name, and the first to distinguish himself was John de Cromwell, who was Constable of the Tower in Edward II's time, married a Vipont heiress, fought in Scotland and France and was summoned to Parliament as a peer from 1308 to 1335. In the latter year he probably died leaving no issue, for though Dugdale makes Maud de Bernak's husband his son, it is now known that he was certainly no closer relation than great-nephew and did not rank as Baron Cromwell until he received a writ of summons in 1375. His grandson, called Ralph as his forefathers had been for many generations, rising to wealth and influence while yet young, proved to be one of the most sumptuous and advanced builders of his age in England, being responsible not only for the large brick additions to Tattershall, but also for the whole of the great stone manor house of South Wingfield (page 303). Yet so slight are the records of this remarkable man, who held the purse-strings of England for ten critical years, that his name escaped the attention of the editor of the "Dictionary of National Biography" when the lists were prepared for that work, and he only finds a place in the pages of its supplement. Born in 1394, or thereabouts, we find him serving in Henry V's retinue at Agincourt in 1415, and he assisted at all that King's victories and triumphs in France. So thoroughly was his reputation established that he was appointed by Parliament to the council of regency during Henry VI's minority. When dissension broke out among the political chiefs, he took the part of Cardinal Beaufort against Humfrey Duke of Gloucester, who dismissed him from his offices during the Cardinal's absence in France in 1432. Next year the Cardinal returned and Cromwell was made lord treasurer. His "elaborate statement of the national accounts" is specially referred to by Bishop Stubbs in his "Constitutional History of England" and led to various attempts at financial reform. For ten years he remained at the head of the Treasury, and his resignation may have been caused by his opposition to De la Pole, who was made Duke of Suffolk and succeeded Beaufort as the King's most trusted adviser. He opposed him to the end, and afterwards, on the outbreak of the dynastic feud, joined the party of the Duke of York and fought with him at the first battle of St. Albans in 1455. His death the following January probably saved him from the fate of his chief, and of the many great lords who went under during the Wars of the Roses.

Such was Lord Cromwell's career as soldier and statesman. Let us now consider him as a builder. That he could plan and carry out a complete house on a vast scale we shall find at South Wingfield. At Tattershall it is his liberal and fine use of a then unusual material in the erection of an unusual building that arrests attention. The probable continuance of brick making in England and its elaboration and extension under Henry VI are dealt with in the Introduction (page xxxv), where it was found that three other of Henry V's warriors besides Cromwell came home and built in that material. The friendship of Cromwell with Sir John Fastolf, the builder of Caister, is proved by the latter having a robe of Cromwell's livery in his wardrobe and leaving in his will a sum of money for prayers for Cromwell's soul. Another friend of Cromwell's was William of Wainfleet, a Lincolnshire man, who, becoming a Fellow of Eton at its foundation in 1440, began the brick cloisters there in the following year. Wainfleet, who founded and built Magdalen College at Oxford after he became Bishop of Winchester in 1447, was Cromwell's executor, and completed his unfinished work at the Collegiate Church of Tattershall. Almost as great an architect as his predecessor at Winchester, William of Wykeham, it is very likely that Wainfleet inspired, if he did not design, Cromwell's buildings at both Tattershall and Wingfield. Licence to endow the collegiate establishment at the church was granted to Cromwell in 1439, and by that time he was probably well forward with his work at the castle. Certainly it was not completed before 1433, as the Lord Treasurer's badge of the purse is constantly repeated on the stone mantelpieces. On the other hand, the carving, which would be among the finishing touches, must surely date from within the period of his treasurership, which ended in 1443. This places



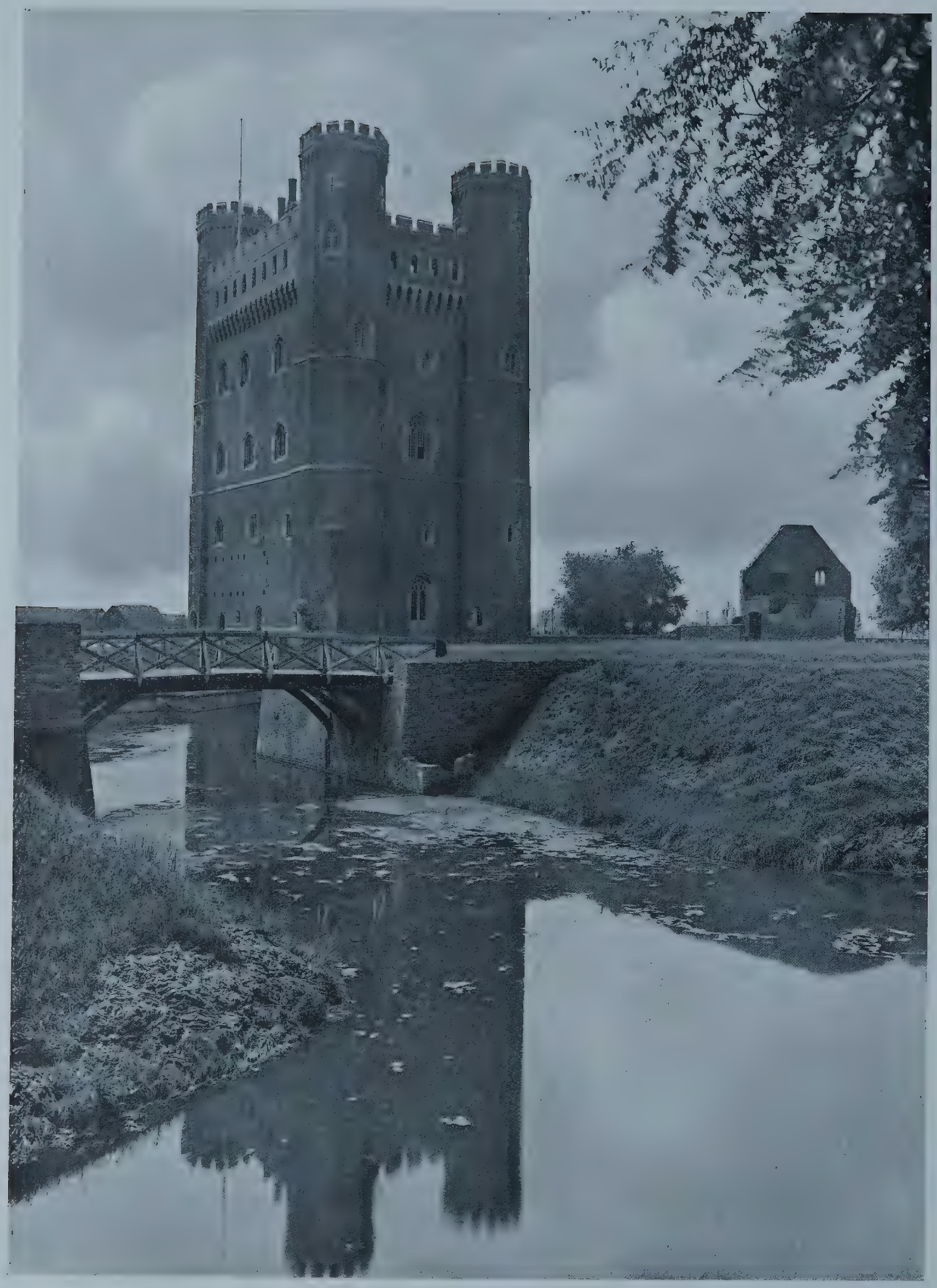
321.—PLAN.

the Tattershall keep among the earliest as well as the most important examples of the great brick buildings of eastern England.

We have seen in various Edwardian castles how the adoption of a strong tower-set curtain wall as a chief defence had led to the omission of the massive keep of Norman times. Then Robert de Tattershall's defensive ring of wall and tower rising from a moat enclosed a space where, besides houses of office, stood hall and chapel. Lord Cromwell will have found them standing, but their ruins, shown in Buck's engraving of 1726 (Fig. 322), prove that he gave them additional size and light by adding great windows of the same type that he adopted for his contemporary building at Wingfield. Besides that, however, he needed more and finer residential accommodation than had prevailed in the thirteenth century. This he determined to embody in a great four-storeyed tower—a kind of imitative reversion to the Norman type, but, as its first

The East Prospect of Tatershal-Castle near Boston, in the County of Lincoln.
To the Rt Honble HENRY Earl of Lincoln Cofferer to his Majestys Houshold, one of ye Lords of his Majestys most Honble Privy Council, one of ye Lords of ye Bedchamb. & Knt of the most Noble Order of the Garter &c.
This Prospect is most humbly Inscribd. by,
My Ld your Lordships most Obd.t Humble Servant Jam.s Buck
THIS castle did formerly belong to the noble Family of the Cromwells Ralph Lord Cromwell & Lt High Treasurer of England, who was the last of that name, who possessd it in the 17th of King Henry VI. converted the Parish Church into a Collegiat, & endowd it with Lands lying under this castle, from whom it came to the most noble and Illustrious Family of Clinton, Earls of Lincoln
Jam. Buck delin. et sc. 1726.

322.—THE CASTLE AS IN 1726.



323.—THE KEEP FROM THE OUTER MOAT.

Showing the ruins of the Master of the Horse's dwelling.

324.—THE KEEP FROM THE SOUTH-EAST.

Showing the junction with the older Castle and the foundations of the kitchens.

325.—THE GUARD HOUSE.

purpose was not defensive, he pierced all its sides with large traceried windows as Clinton had done almost a century earlier at Maxstoke (Fig. 256).

But those who had won France with Henry V, and had lost it after his death, believed in defence, and Cromwell was not oblivious of the new offensive power of artillery when he remodelled Tattershall. His great outer moat was intended to keep the little guns of his time away from his main buildings. These remained within the old moat, which he widened, while on the considerable space between it and his new water defence he erected buildings for retainers and horses and located his tilt-yard and garden.

His new tower was to work in with the older domestic arrangement, and to get it near the hall without too much destruction of the earlier fabric he projected it into the inner moat which washes three of its sides. The fourth side had doorways opening, it would seem, into a covered space between it and the banqueting hall. At this point a portion of the stone curtain wall must have been removed, but there was just room for his "new-build" between the two round towers of which the foundations have now been uncovered, as shown in the plan. Its similarity to its Norman congeners is revealed by comparison with Rochester and Castle Rising and more especially with Hedingham. In that twelfth century example we saw (page 5) that the keep measures 58ft. by 52ft. without and, within, 36ft. by 29ft. on the ground floor and 2ft. more each way on the second floor. This allows for walls 11ft. thick at base and 10ft. higher up where, moreover, the walls are not solid throughout, but have narrow passages in their thickness. At Tattershall the corresponding measurements (plan, Fig. 331) are 62ft. by 48ft. and 38ft. by 22ft., increasing 3ft. each way on the top floor. This allows for walls quite as thick as those at Hedingham to north, south and west, and thicker still to the east. On that side, however, even on the ground floor there is a little chamber in the thickness, while on the second floor there runs a 6ft. wide corridor between the outer wall and the chimney breast (Fig. 334).

So far the Norman and Lancastrian towers are nearly identical, except for the increased size of the windows. Now, however, we must note a decided difference. The Norman keep had no corner break except a widening of the shallow buttresses at the one corner where the

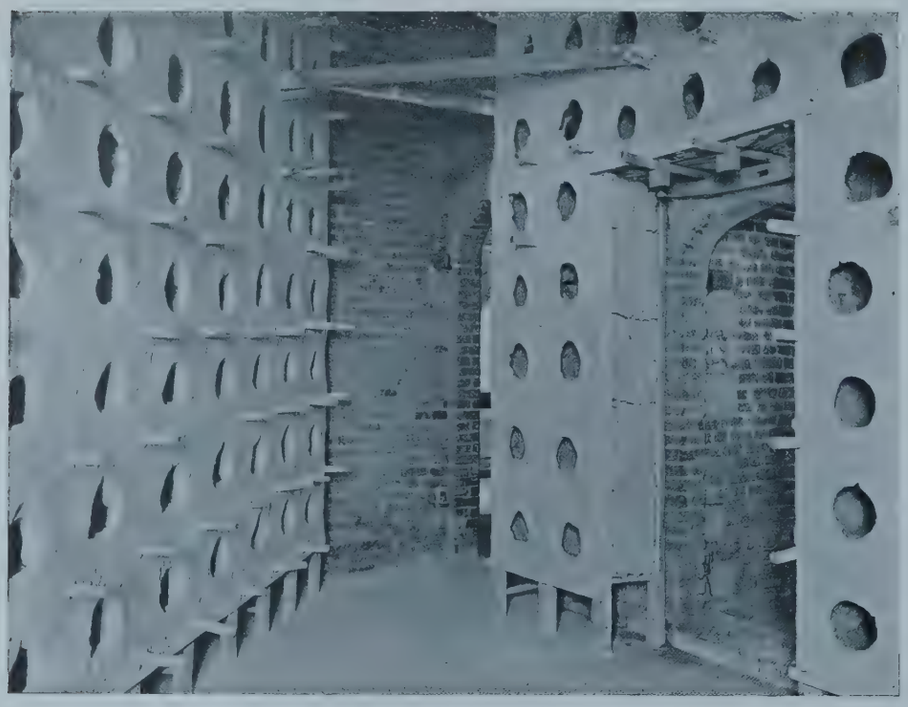
newel stair rose up. But Lord Cromwell set his stair in a projecting turret and repeated this feature at the other three corners, thus getting a series of little chambers off the great room on each floor. The four turrets project boldly from the face of the main block (Fig. 320), except on the inner bailey side where they are almost flush with it (Fig. 324), in order to obtain passage-way between the new tower and the existing hall. The pyramidal roofs seen in Buck's view continued into the nineteenth century, but the last one had disappeared long before the recent renovations, and they have not been conjecturally replaced. In every other respect this remarkable tower, although bereft of the extensive buildings which once were grouped about it, presents much the appearance which it possessed at the time when, as a contemporary chronicler tells us, the Lord Treasurer expended 4,000 marks on his Tattershall additions and gathered there a household of above a hundred persons. His tower has no exact counterpart among late Gothic castles. It resembles in general form, but on a larger scale, the gate-houses of the age, but the structure that comes nearest to it is the great south building of Buckden Palace, built forty years later by Bishop Russell, of the same materials and on a similar plan, except that it is one storey lower. Lincoln was his diocese, and he may well have taken the Tattershall keep as a model for his building. Lord Hastings' Tower at Ashby-de-la-Zouch, built in 1476 and now in ruins, appears to have been somewhat on the same plan.

Although, at Tattershall, the dressings, including string-courses and copings, are of Ancaster stone, yet skilful craftsmen were employed to work the somewhat uncustomary material of which the mass is composed. Hence arose the belief that the whole of the bricks were brought from Flanders, which, for a building 100ft. high and walls 12ft. thick, would have meant the plying to and fro of a whole fleet of the small ships of the day. The composition of the bricks has now been analysed and found to consist of Lincolnshire clay with Lincolnshire pebbles in it. Mr. Weir points out that at Halstead Hall, in the same neighbourhood and built very few years later, bricks of similar texture and colour were used, and close by it are "pits from which bricks have been manufactured for centuries." The normal size of the bricks at Tattershall is 4ins. by 8½ins. by 2ins., the same thickness, but a less length and breadth than had been used somewhat earlier at Beverley (Fig. xxxii). There was a desire to use the burnt

326.—CHIMNEY-STACK AND STAIR TURRET FROM THE ROOF.

ends as a diapering such as now came into vogue and prevailed throughout the Tudor period. But the supply was evidently small and uncertain, so that the patterning is only occasional and irregular. Where, however, careful planning and delicate craftsmanship are revealed is in the vaulting of some of the window recesses and lobbies. That of the lobby opening on the third floor from the staircase shows the art of moulding brick brought to a high pitch of excellence; the moulded ribbing has shields at its intersections worked in plaster, the central shield presents the arms of Cromwell and Tattershall quarterly, while the lesser shields on either side bear the coat of Deincourt and Tattershall respectively (Fig. 338).

It was not, however, so much on his brick vaultings as on his stone chimneypieces that Lord Cromwell gave free play to the love of heraldic carvings that was so strong in his age. Three of these are shown. That of the common hall, or ground floor room (Fig. 328), has above the fire opening an ogee arch rising to a crocketed finial, below which is the Cromwell shield. On either side of the arch the stonework is carved in two tiers of panels in which shields of the alliances of the Cromwells—De Albini and Marmion, Tattershall and Deincourt, Bernak and Driby—alternate with the Treasurer's purse. In the audience chamber on the first floor (Fig. 330) there is much the same heraldry, but also some delightfully fanciful figure carving. St. George and the Dragon, and a lion being rent asunder by a man occupy two of a set of circles of which the central one has the arms of Cromwell and Tattershall surmounted with a helm and supported by representations of the "savage" man, so popular during the fifteenth century, especially in eastern England. In the spandrels of the end circles little elongated figures of the same characters sit or stand, according as the attitude best fits the space. In one of the larger spandrels of the fire arch a rabbit is eating the much-crinkled leafage, while in the other a dragon is outstretched. On the second floor, the large room (Fig. 332) is set down as Lord Cromwell's own chamber, and here the fireplace has a set of heraldic shields occupying the middle of traceried panels, while the spandrels of the fire arch have floral compositions representing the rose and the columbine freely handled (Fig. 333).



327.—TURRET-ROOM CONVERTED INTO A PIGEON-COTE, PROBABLY IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

Of Lord Cromwell's doings in his Lincolnshire home we know little. Just once the contemporary chronicler, William of Worcester, lifts the veil: "In the middle of the month of August, Thomas Neville, son of the Earl of Salisbury, married the niece of Lord Cromwell at Tattershall in Lincolnshire." The Lord Treasurer was childless and his sister's two daughters were his nearest relations and ultimate heirs. Maud, the elder, first married the sixth Lord Willoughby d'Eresby, who died in 1452. It was in the next year that her nuptials with the younger brother of Warwick the King-maker took place under her uncle's roof, and as she went home with her husband to Middleham there occurred one of the broils which were soon to develop into the Civil Wars that cost the lives of two of her husbands, one of her sister's, and the flower of the English baronage. As the Neville *cortège* got near Middleham it came into collision with

328.—CHIMNEYPIECE OF THE GROUND FLOOR ROOM.

the retainers of Thomas Percy, son of the Earl of Northumberland, and we hear that a " pitched battle ensued." Family and local feuds had for some years been prevalent, and Cromwell was at enmity with some of his Lincolnshire neighbours, of whom one William Tailboys had been sent to the Tower in 1449 for attacking Cromwell with many retainers at the entrance of the Star Chamber.

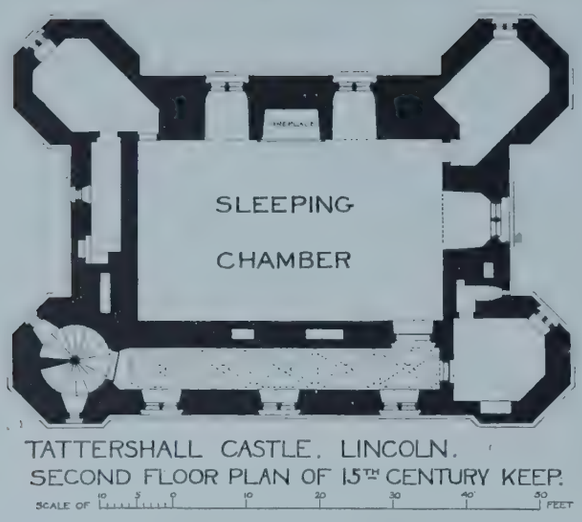
Tattershall appears to have passed from Lord Cromwell's relatives before the death of his elder niece in 1497. Her third husband was beheaded by the victorious Yorkists at Tewkesbury in 1471, and we hear of Tattershall belonging to Edward IV. Certainly it was in the hands of the Crown in 1487, when Henry VII bestowed it upon his mother. From her it would come to Henry VIII, and he conferred it upon Charles Duke of Brandon, who had married his sister Mary, Dowager Queen of France. Failing heirs, it reverted to the Crown and appears to have been granted to the Sidneys, of whom Sir Henry Sidney, of Penshurst fame, was licensed by the Crown to alienate it in 1574 to the first Earl of Lincoln. In 1649 we find his great-grandson, the fourth earl, petitioning Parliament for compensation for damage done during the Civil War to his castle of Tattershall.

On a jamb of the doorway leading from the stair to the third floor lobby may still be read the inscription, " James Gibson, 1642," incised in a fine free hand, and we learn that he was a Horncastle clergyman kept here in durance by the Puritans. If the fourth earl obtained compensation for damage he probably did not expend it in repair, as the castle became ruinous, and Buck's 1726 engraving shows little that is tenantable beyond the keep. Before that date the property had passed through heiresses to the Fortescues of Weare Giffard and Castle Hill in Devonshire, and in that family it remained until sold by Earl Fortescue a few years ago. The decay shown by the 1726 engraving no doubt grew more and more pronounced as the eighteenth century ran its course, and with the beginning of the nineteenth worse befell. Whatever remained of the buildings within the circuit of the inner moat, the keep excepted, was pulled

329.—THE AUDIENCE CHAMBER ON THE FIRST FLOOR.

330.—CHIMNEYPIECE OF THE FIRST FLOOR ROOM.

down and the moat itself was filled in. Not even the foundations of the banqueting hall and chapel were left. Mr. Weir relates that during the recent work of excavation traces of two limekilns were found near the inner moat, and he surmises that the whole of the remains of the thirteenth century stone castle were carefully collected to be transformed into lime, the bases of the towers that descended into the moat alone escaping removal. Evil days now came to the keep itself. The roof and the wooden floor beams of the upper great rooms gradually decayed and fell in. The vaulted undercroft and the various chambers in the turrets and wall thickness alone remained covered. Windows, especially on the ground floor, had their tracery injured or destroyed, and cattle roamed at will about Lord Cromwell's brick masterpiece. Nature joined with man in the work of destruction. Lightning struck the north-east turret and, travelling along the top of the north wall, reached the west elevation. Here it found an attraction in the heavy iron stanchions and cross-bars of the windows and shattered their tracery in its descent. Not even then, however, had the worst happened ; for the vandalism of the twentieth century was to



331.—PLAN.

exceed that of the nineteenth. After the estate had passed from the Fortescues it was held that, valueless as the old keep might be, there probably was money in the chimneypieces; for what better examples dating from the fifteenth century could an American or other millionaire find to insert into his home? In the autumn of 1911 they were sold and ruthlessly torn out, suffering breakage and other hurt in the process. This brought the imminent peril of the keep prominently forward, and the National Trust endeavoured to find means to purchase the building and the fireplaces. In this it failed, but at the last moment Lord Curzon stepped in and did what the Nation ought to have done.

Salvage operations began in 1912, and Mr. Weir practically made Tattershall his headquarters in order to ensure complete and continuous supervision. To save and give enduring value to whatever remained, without the removal of any old work or the introduction of any new work beyond what was essential to attain this end, was adopted as his guiding principle and applied with remarkable judgment and resourceful discrimination. The inner moat has been entirely excavated, and the outer moat also, except at one section, over which irremovable modern farm buildings had been built. On the space between the two moats remains of two of Lord Cromwell's buildings have received attention. The guard-house (Fig. 325) to the east of the inner moat had been cut up into rooms to accommodate a caretaker. All such partitioning has been removed. The original timber roof of the upper room was found in good preservation,

332.—LORD CROMWELL'S CHAMBER ON THE SECOND FLOOR.

and many other ancient features, such as fireplaces and windows, have been revealed and repaired. West of the inner moat there remained some of the walling of a considerable dwelling. A clue to its original use is afforded by a series of iron rings attached to the outside of the east wall. To them horses might be tethered, and the building was probably inhabited by the master of the horse—an important functionary when we remember that Lord Cromwell is said by William of

333.—IN THE SECOND FLOOR ROOM.

334.—THE VAULTED CORRIDOR ON THE SECOND FLOOR.

Worcester to have been accompanied by 120 horsemen when he rode up to London from his Lincolnshire home. Of this building much too little remained to justify its renovation as a dwelling, but such walls as were standing have been carefully repaired. The south gable was almost intact, and had one window untouched and two with partly broken tracery. Through the chimney-breast a rough opening to admit cattle had been hacked out ; this has been refilled and the fire arch rebuilt. The missing mullions of the windows have been replaced in order to support the tracery which has been repaired, and the same course has been pursued with regard to the windows of the keep. On the ground floor one or two had been broken through for farm purposes ; others, higher up, had lost portions of tracery, while we have already seen how the stonework of those on the west front had been broken by lightning. Of these, however, no part had actually fallen out, so all could be taken out and replaced with strengthening composition having shellac as its basis. The method adopted by Mr. Weir in his repair of all the stonework was as follows :

If entire stones, as of mullions, were wanting, he introduced new ones. If existing stones were broken, as of portions of a window frame, head or tracery, then pieces of tile were firmly fixed into the breach as reinforcement and the original contour completed in lime mortar.

But no old stonework was cut away, and the making-up process was only resorted to when an important contour or an eye-catching feature called for it. By such means survival of what is decaying is assured with the least possible diminution of old substance and surface, and the most agreeable approximation to the essential lines and forms as originally designed is obtained. Sounder principles cannot be ; and, with the eye of our craftsmen re-educated to the sense of form and harmony which it has lost, their practical application might become general in the repair of even the humblest old building, where the expense of skilled professional advice and supervision cannot be incurred. Tattershall as treated by Mr. Weir is an educational monument of the utmost value, and if advantage of it is taken, Lord Curzon will have a happy feeling that

he is rewarded for the effort and the sacrifice he has made to save the place and restore to it the flavour of late mediævalism. How well this has been done the illustrations show, but some further description of interior features seems called for. It is thought that the ground floor apartment was a sort of common room of the household ; the vaults to its windows are of plain brickwork. It did not open on to the stairway, but into the covered space between the keep and the banqueting hall of earlier date, and into the same covered way the stair descended from the upper floors, of which there are three. In 1912 the whole was open to the sky, but there was evidence that the floor joists had been supported by huge oaken beams, while the floor surface itself had been of plaster. Seasoned English oak that would yield beams of length and girth to exactly replace what was lost took some finding, but was at length obtained. The beams were set in the wall cavities of their predecessors, and joists were dovetailed into mortices cut on the upper edges. On the joists were then laid thin slabs of fibrous plaster. This was covered with 2ins. of cement concrete, reinforced with expanded metal, and on the top was spread plaster similar to the original finish, of which portions existed in the corridors and the turrets. The roof was constructed in a somewhat similar manner, the top covering being asphalt. The effect is as of yore, though where modern method

335.—A VAULTED WINDOW RECESS.

336.—THE NEWEL STAIR.

and material were of practical advantage they were not spurned.

The covered gallery and upper walk running round the roof were replaced. There was, unfortunately, nothing to show what was the exact detail of the original arcading of the inner side, but on the outer side both the trefoil-headed openings of the gallery and the crenellation of the upper walk remained—many of the missing coping stones of the latter being found in digging out the moat—and it was rightly decided to give completeness to this especially fine example of elaborate English machicolation by replacing the missing parts. On the east side the arcading is interrupted by the great chimney stack (Fig. 325) that serves three of the fireplaces below. The upper part of the shafts had gone, but a portion of one of the stone caps was found in the moat. It was re-used and also served as a model for the rest. The newel stair continues up to the main roof. There it stops, the turret space rising up into a dome. But in the thickness of the wall narrow steps wind up to the turret roof. For this the wall was just too thin, and hence each stone tread comes through to the interior and forms an outstanding corbel on which is built up the slightly projecting inner wall of the winding way.

Another ingenious variation of the inner wall face of the stair turret (Fig. 336) was contrived for the convenience of the inset stone handrail. The handrail has a roll moulding 4ins. in diameter and a hollow above and behind it, so that the hand can run freely along. But in order that the hand may easily grasp the roll without hitting the wall above it, this part of the wall is set $1\frac{1}{4}$in. back from the face of the part below the rail. Mediæval builders were clever contrivers and often gained valuable little effects by the introduction of subsidiary features needed for convenience.

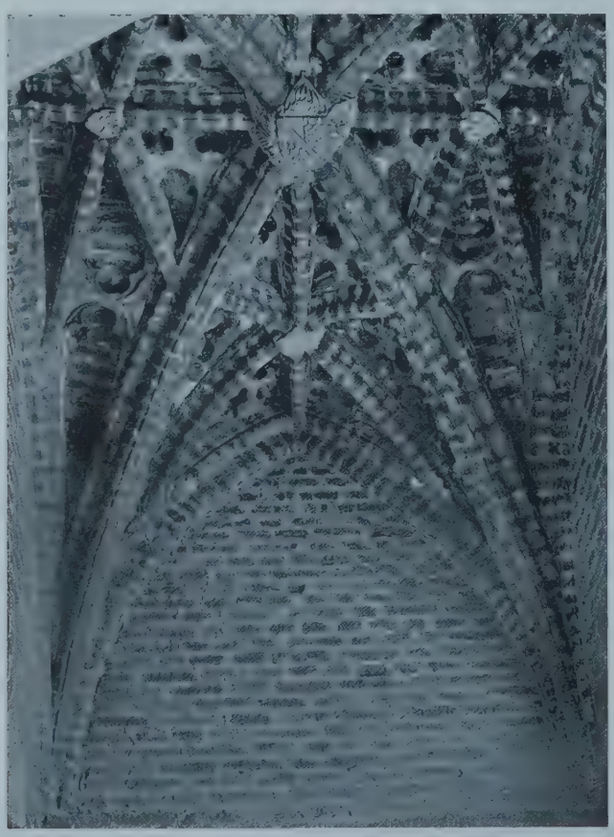
On the first floor the stairway opens into a lobby having one doorway facing into a narrow chamber in the wall thickness and one to the left into the large room called the audience chamber (Fig. 329). Its chimneypiece had been injured by its removal in 1911. This had been clumsily done, any stones of the jambs that returned far into the wall for bonding purposes were broken off short to save trouble, and any existing fractures were intensified. On reaching London the pieces had been roughly set up and secured with iron cramps let into the stones from the back. Then the whole front was smeared over with cement wash to hide the cracks. Thus its arched head—originally of two stones jointed together at the centre—was found to be in five pieces. They were taken apart when they returned to the castle, were properly reset with copper cramps,

and with infinite trouble and patience the cement was removed so that the original tone and texture of the stone were once more revealed. This was likewise done with the other examples. Except on the ground floor—to which cattle long had access, and caused some breakage and defacement—the carvings in the Ancaster stone are nearly as sharp as when executed. No attempt has been made to renew missing portions, except to the moulding of the fire arch. Where this was badly chipped it gave a ragged line very displeasing to the eye. Indeed, on the second floor there was a positive breach in the centre of the arch. Here, for strength as well as for appearance, the missing portion has been replaced in concrete, moulded in position, bonded into the stone with tile dowels and finished off with stone-dust and lime to bring it into colour harmony with the original work. This fireplace is not, like the others, in the east wall, but between the two west windows (Fig. 333). The room has no south window. In fact, only the ground floor room is lit both south and north, as above, at one end or the other, a long, well lit garderobe, entered from one of the turret rooms, is placed in the wall thickness. This is to the north on the first and third floors, but to the south on the second floor, and there—after the Commonwealth period and the abandonment of the castle as a residence—both it

337.—FROM A TURRET ROOM INTO THE AUDIENCE CHAMBER.

and the turret room from which it opened were fitted as a pigeon cote, the nests being built up of deal framing filled in with " daub," composed like Devonshire cottage walls of clay and chopped straw. In the turret room this arrangement has been preserved (Fig. 327). The main room, held to have been Lord Cromwell's chamber, is approached from the stairway along the vaulted corridor in the thickness of the east wall, lit by three windows. The vault has ribs of moulded brick with heraldic enrichments in stone. This form of decoration, but with plaster for material, is even more elaborately carried out on the third floor, where the richly traceried mouldings of the west window recesses of the large room or " Ladies' Bower " are as noticeable as the already mentioned vaulting of the lobby which gives access to the room.

Except on the second floor, there has been as yet no attempt to fit and furnish the renovated rooms of the keep. The brick walls have merely been cleaned down, and there is no trace of their having been covered or decorated, except with the tapestry, of which old inventories show that many noble sets were owned by wealthy men of Ralph Cromwell's age. To hang these up, blocks of wood had been built into the walls at intervals round the room about twelve feet from the floor. These would support a continuous board set with hooks, and the original arrangement has been renewed in Lord Cromwell's chamber, where, besides tapestry, several late Gothic chests and a table dated 1586 have been placed. Above the tapestry on the south or windowless side four stone corbels appear. These likewise occur on the north wall of the rooms above and below, and Mr. Weir thinks they may have held up a bearer for a canopy running across the width of the room at the " dais " end—that is, the end furthest from the entrance door, which, in the chamber, is contrived, by means of the corridor, at the north end. Much thought was evidently spent by Lord Cromwell in planning the keep. It is full of careful detail, intended to make it, at every point, consort with the latest ideas of convenience and dignity as they were understood by a liberal-minded magnate of Henry VI's time. To have preserved so interesting a monument of the past, and to have given back to it its original form and significance in a manner at once loving and learned is an achievement of which Lord Curzon and those who have assisted him in the task may well be proud.



338.—HERALDIC VAULTING OF THE THIRD FLOOR LOBBY.

SOUTH WINGFIELD MANOR, DERBYSHIRE

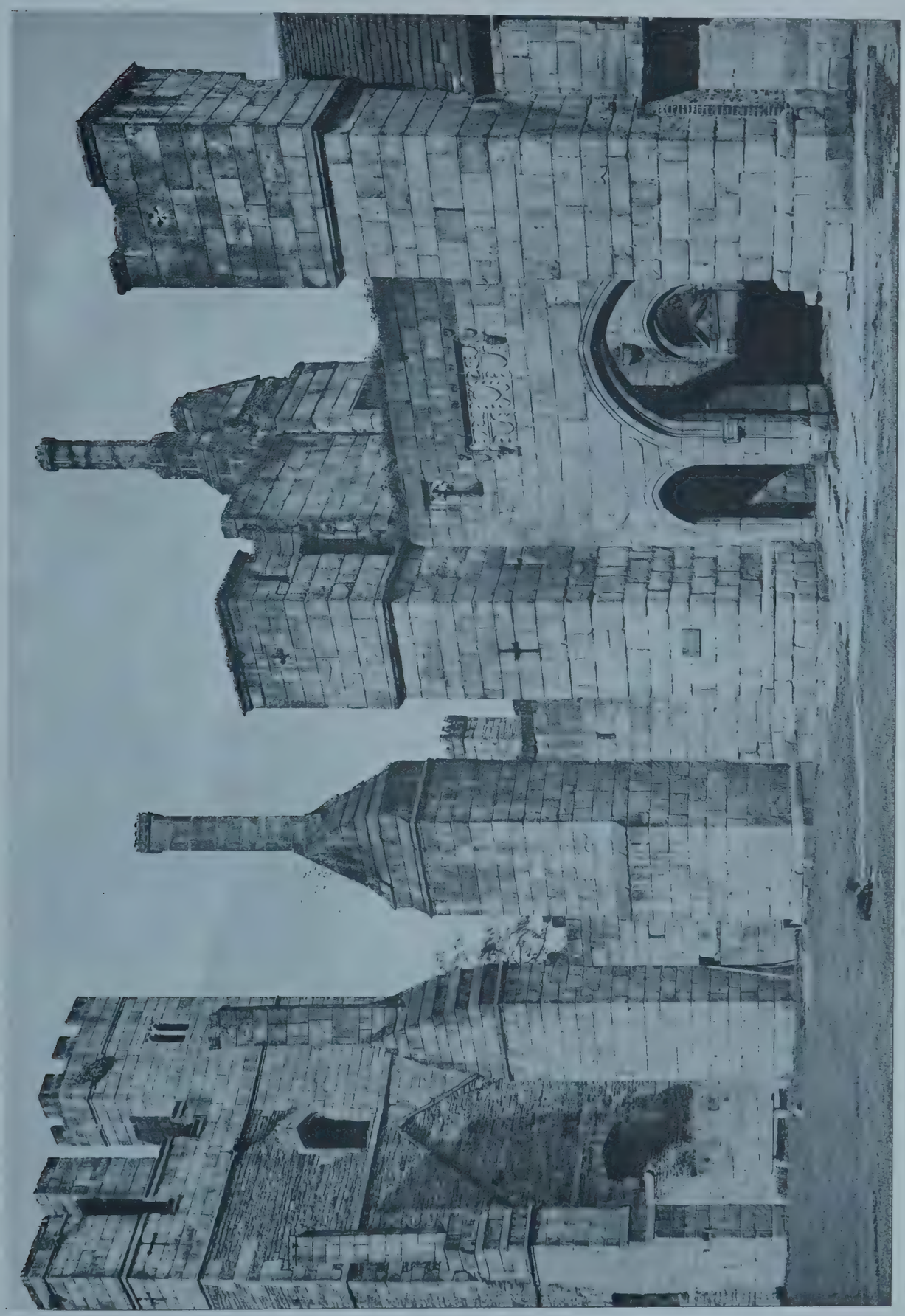
UNLIKE Tattershall, no part of South Wingfield has been entirely obliterated, and although it is a ruin, we get at a glance a full impression of the vast extent as well as of the noble proportions of its buildings. Here, again, the badge of the Lord Treasurer appears in the carvings, and we must conclude that Lord Cromwell built this splendid house of stone during the same years that saw him working in brick in Lincolnshire. It is a little difficult to understand how he found money for architectural creations which would severely tax the resources of a modern millionaire. In his day ownership of land was still the chief source of wealth, although commerce and the law were occasionally very profitable. But Lord Cromwell was by no means among the territorial magnates. He owned, indeed, considerable estates ; but at a time when the yearly rental of average arable land was sixpence an acre there was little surplus from them for building purposes, even when we take into consideration that the artisan received only sixpence as his daily wage and the labourer threepence or fourpence. Cromwell, however, had various other sources of wealth. A clever man could, no doubt, make the treasurership very remunerative without being brought to book for positive defalcations, and, perhaps, the frequent appearance of the semblance of the public purse on his private dwellings is more symbolical than the Minister intended. Again, although France was lost while Cromwell built, much profit had come to Henry V's warriors. A century later John Leland meets the tradition that great houses of the Lancastrian reigns, such as Hampton Court in Herefordshire, were built with the spoils of war, and certainly the capture of the Duke of Alençon by Cromwell's friend, Sir John Fastolfe, had much to do with the creation of Caister Castle. Both men were as acute in business as brave in the field, and both added commercial venture to landowning and the service of the State. Thus, Thorold Rogers, in his "History of Prices," tells us that Fastolfe was extensively engaged in the barley and malt trade with the Continent, and that "it appears that much of the wealth of Lord Cromwell, one of the richest men of the fifteenth century, was obtained from the same source."

339.—ARCHED ENTRANCE TO PORCH OF THE GREAT HALL.

It was, then, the full use of all opportunities, together with a capable administration of his fortune, that enabled this extremely intelligent man to give us two examples of domestic architecture from which the havoc of time has not altogether torn the exceptional qualities. In material, plan and elevation they differ largely, yet both are eminently typical of what was best and most advanced in the building schemes of the time.

The present spelling of Wingfield is declared to be wrong. It "unquestionably means gorse field," and, therefore, the letter "g" is a quite misleading interpolation. Stretches of gorse or whin are, indeed, common enough about the hill land of Derbyshire, of which Wingfield occupies one of the spurs. The great array of buildings, set round an outer and inner courtyard, occupies the north end of this spur. To the south it continues as a ridge, but on all other sides there is a sharp fall, which is most pronounced to the north, where, from a tall, narrow watch tower at the north-west angle, there is a drop of a hundred feet or so to the stream in the little valley below. The position was, therefore, defensive, attack being only possible to the south, where, if the considerable earthworks and walls that defended the outer courtyard on this side were carried, the battlements of the inner court yet presented a formidable obstacle. Protection against marauding bands, rather than against a regular force equipped with siege engines, was, however, aimed at, while convenience and amenity received a large measure of attention. Round the courts ran buildings finely wrought in stone, and, except where a barn or house of office interposed, there were ranges of apartments having traceried windows and arched fireplaces with rich mouldings. They occur in the south or outer court (plan, Fig. 348), which is entered on the east side through a gate-house flanked with turrets and pierced by great and small archways quite similar to that leading from the outer to the inner court (Fig. 341). The latter is ornamented with a long heraldic panel. The emblazoning of the shields has perished, but the Tattershall chimneypieces teach us what it will have been; while on each side of the central shield the carving of the Treasurer's purse still survives. Entering the inner court, we see around us the remains of one of the noblest examples of domestic architecture which the reign of Henry VI produced. The chief rooms occupied the north side and, though a large part of the wall of the

340.—HALL PORCH AND GABLE OF THE STATE APARTMENT.



341.—GATE-HOUSE TO THE INNER OR NORTH COURTYARD.

hall is lacking, the three most prominent features remain. In the centre is the porch of the hall (Fig. 340). To the left rises the gable of a building, of which the first floor was occupied by a solar or state room, the size and magnificence of which may be gathered from the dignity and elaboration of the immense traceried window. To the right, beyond the blank space of the destroyed wall, stands the hall oriel (Fig. 345), with three windows even more richly wrought and perhaps better designed than that of the solar. The parapet of this oriel has the same traceried panels and the same heraldic battlements as the porch. Upon the latter a wealth of detail was bestowed. The arched entrance (Fig. 339), which is 12ft. high and nearly 7ft. wide, has, on both its outer and inner sides, a great hollow moulding enriched with foliage bosses. On its east side there is a little square-headed window (Fig. 346), 4ft. 3ins. high and 2ft. 10ins. wide, composed with all the elaboration of its greater associates—such, for instance, as the arched window of the upper floor of the porch, of which, however, only fragments of the tracery survive.

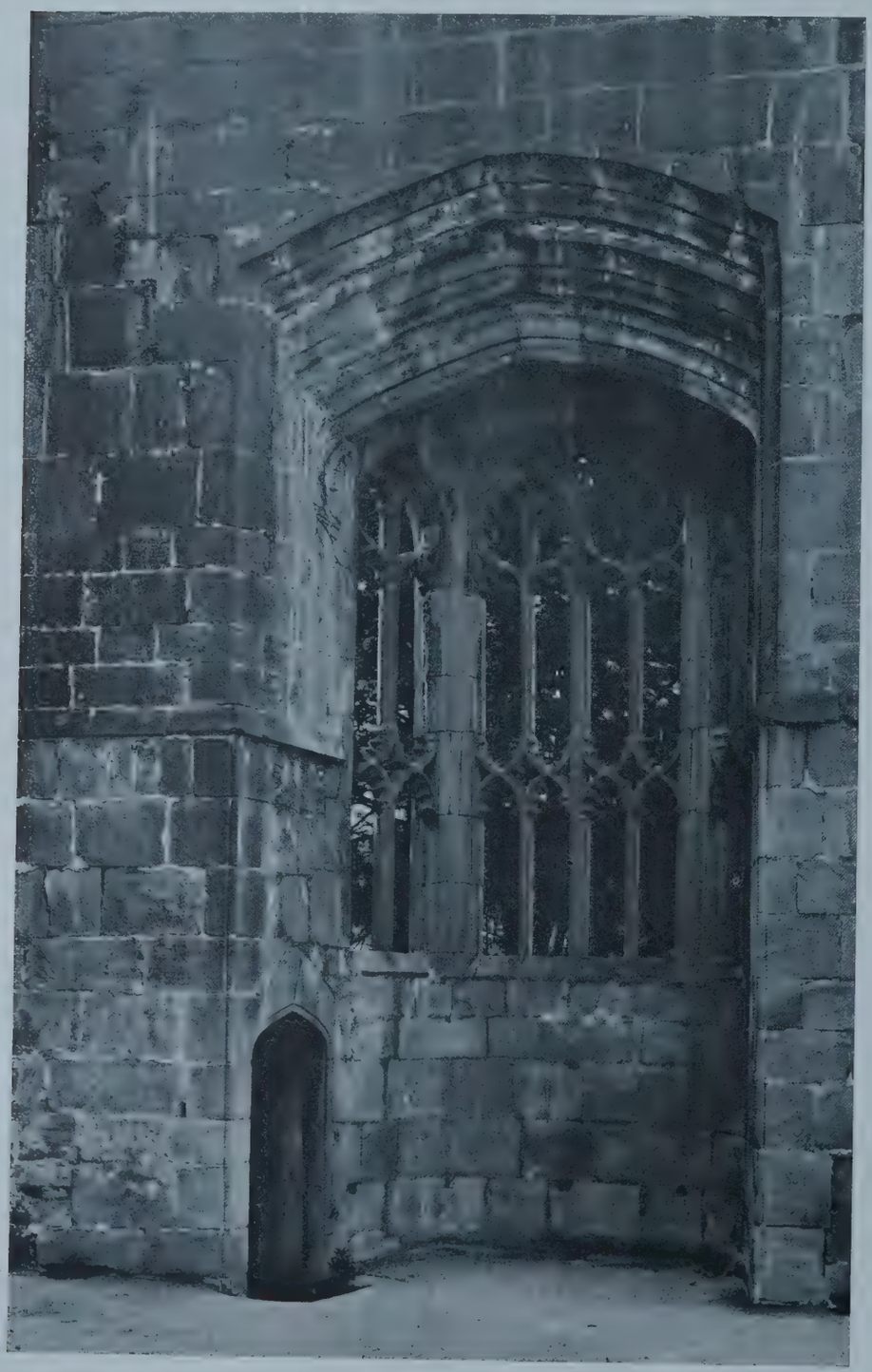
Passing from porch to hall, the plan of the house arrests attention. Owing to the destruction of the wing that lay east of the hall, we cannot entirely reconstruct the original disposition. There remains, on the garden side, 8ft. of the height of a building with large windows, and at the corner of the hall a newel stair, with steps 3ft. 8ins. wide, evidently led to important first floor rooms. Here, under the normal late mediæval plan, would have been situate the solar and the lord's chamber. Very likely Cromwell and his family had their living-rooms there, but the finest apartment, as we have seen, lay on the first floor west of the hall, over a series of offices, such as buttery and pantry, and even over the kitchen. This was an exceptional arrangement, and much more intricate and close packed than was usual. Thus it was rather beyond the capacity of Lord Cromwell and his designer to plan satisfactorily, and some of the rooms received light only from an interior court little more than 10ft. across. But the fine and ample windows and fireplaces of all the upper rooms that lay beyond and in conjunction with the magnificent apartment next to the hall prove that there was much choice accommodation at this point. Nor was there any falling off in the western wing and the Great Tower (Fig. 343). Enough of both is left to show that comfort, hygiene and dignity were all considered in planning the numerous chambers that were there located. The outer wall of the tower and the inner wall of the wing are largely gone, but of the latter the foundations remain, and show that there were two excrescences, which may have been bay windows, but more like newel stairways. The outer wall (Fig. 342) reminds us of one of the wings of Gainsborough Old Hall (Fig. 316) by its arrangement of projecting chimneys and garderobes, the latter being ventilated north and south by delightful little quatrefoil openings.

342.—OUTWARD VIEW OF TOWER AND WEST WING.

The spur of ground, at the end of which the whole building stands, slopes somewhat before reaching the abrupt edge. Hence the inner court lies higher than the narrow space known as the garden on the north side of the hall. The hall, therefore, and the building west of it are all cellared, and so nobly wrought is the hall undercroft (Fig. 347) that there has been hesitation

343.—THE GREAT TOWER FROM WITHIN THE NORTH COURTYARD.

in assigning to it the mean function of a cellar or store, and it has been called a retainers' hall and even a chapel. It has windows to the north, and its well moulded vaulting ribs, with carved bosses at the junctions, spring from a set of octagonal central columns and side pilasters. Yet the arrangement of four stairways from it into the hall—one at each corner—implies that it existed for the prompt and convenient service of the latter. Especially noticeable is the descent into it from the oriel, where the board for the service of the high table will have been placed. Doorway, passage and steps are contrived in the thickness of the short bit of wall between the oriel and the return wall of the eastern wing (Fig. 344). But the wall was not quite thick enough and, therefore, at the required height to give head room it was brought forward on the outside, and the excrescence roofed with wrought and moulded slabs, like an enlarged plinth. The hall itself was originally lit by a window in the eastern gable and by windows high up on the north and south walls, five to the north, but to the south only three, as the oriel (Fig. 345) took up the remaining space. At the west end of the hall, behind the screens, were the great doorways from the porch and into the garden, and also the three normal service doorways in the west wall. The side ones to buttery and pantry are smaller than the central one, which led through rooms or corridor down two sets of steps to the kitchen, which, though not at so low a level as the range of cellars, is considerably lower than the hall, and has no undercroft. It has two fire arches about 15ft. across. That to the north has in connection with it two ovens, one of moderate size, but the other having an interior diameter of 9ft. —quite a little room in itself, as well it might be to bake the bread of a household of 200 or more souls.



344.—INTERIOR VIEW OF THE HALL ORIEL.
Note doorway and stair to cellar.

The position of the chapel is in doubt, but authorities such as Mr. Gotch and the late Sir William St. John Hope incline to place it in the

destroyed eastern wing. The plan (which was prepared by Mr. Gotch, and is here reproduced through the courtesy of himself and Mr. Batsford) shows in the garden the foundation of a wall running parallel to the north wall of the hall. It is thought to be that of a pentise, or open gallery, with a lean-to roof starting below the high windows of the hall and connecting its garden door with the conjectural chapel. The extent of the eastern wing and the distance it reached along the east side of the inner court is another matter of uncertainty. As no foundations continuing the line of the guard-room along the inner court have been disclosed, it is thought that a high embattled wall alone stood here. Even if this was so, Wingfield was simply supplied with every sort of accommodation for Lord Cromwell and his extensive household.

345.—EXTERIOR VIEW OF THE HALL ORIEL.

There is no positive record of when he began to build here. The manor was claimed by him as great-grandson of Amice, daughter and co-heir of Roger de Bellers, and an inquisition held in 1430 upheld this claim. It was disputed, but finally confirmed eleven years later. It was not, therefore, till 1441 that Lord Cromwell's title was fully secured, and he may not have thought it prudent to begin the great structure he had planned until then. But, as we have seen carved on the inner gateway the badge of the Treasurership which he relinquished in 1443, it is permissible to surmise that the lengthy process of construction began a good many years before that date. Of his inhabitance of the place we know nothing, and it is possible that he never finished it. Although he retained

it till his death, he had previously sold the reversion of it to Lord Shrewsbury. Whether this was the first or second earl depends upon when the transaction took place.

John Talbot had been one of Henry V's notable captains in France, and fought bravely there when fortune turned against the English under Henry VI. He was therefore created Earl of Shrewsbury in 1442, and eleven years later was killed at the battle of Chatillon. That he was the purchaser of the Wingfield reversion is certain if we put any faith in an epitaph "existing in a MS. book at the time of the visitation of Shropshire in 1663," for that epitaph, reciting his titles as if each of his estates carried a peerage, dubs him "Lord Crumwell of Wingfield." Nothing further is known of this so-called epitaph, which is not the one placed on his tomb at Whitchurch in Shropshire. Ralph Lord Cromwell lived till 1455, and it was, therefore, the second Earl of Shrewsbury who was the first Talbot to possess Wingfield. Further building and fitting were done by him and his descendants, and it was a favourite residence of the sixth earl, who succeeded his father in 1560, became the last husband of the notorious Bess of Hardwick, and was appointed custodian to Mary Queen of Scots in 1569.

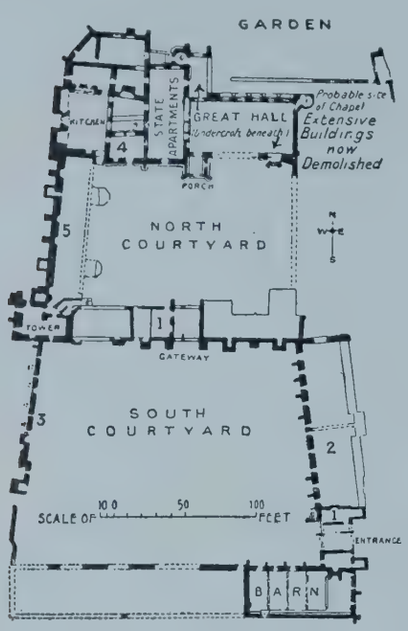
346.—WINDOW ON EAST SIDE OF HALL PORCH.

Sheffield, Tutbury and Chatsworth were among the many residences belonging to him or his wife within easy distance of Wingfield, and at all of them was the captive Queen in turn detained. The first months of 1569 were passed at Tutbury, but in March leave was obtained to take her to Wingfield, where Bess soon went to make ready and where the Queen arrived on April 20th. Mr. Leader, the historian of Mary's captivity, tells us that, "In exchanging Tutbury for Wingfield, as a place of abode, Mary unquestionably changed for the better. It was 'a fair palace' in which, though guarded, she had the means of making herself comfortable. Her friends came and went with more freedom than at Tutbury, and never was her pen more active than during the six months of her residence here." But in May there was alarm for her life, and Shrewsbury writes to Court: "This Queen, on receipt of pills by her physician for ease of her spleen, became very sick, and sownded divers times vehemently." She was further dosed with "good quantity of aquavitæ," and eventually "escaped the danger." Her custodian puts all this down to the dirty habits of her attendants, for he declares that, despite the hygienic conditions of Wingfield, "there has grown in the next chamber by her very unpleasant and fulsome savour, hurtful to her health, by continued pestering and uncleanly order of her own folks."

347.—THE CELLAR OR UNDERCROFT OF THE HALL.

He therefore obtains permission to carry her off to Chatsworth while a week of cleaning takes place.

During the summer rumours of plots to effect her escape reached Ministers, and in September orders came that she was to return to Tutbury, and that the easy and frequent resort of her friends was to stop. For nearly fifteen years Sheffield became the principal place of detention, and thither it was that, in August, 1584, Sir Ralph Sadler journeyed to take charge of her while Shrewsbury went to London. It was proposed to move her at once to Wingfield, but Sadler declared that, "comparing the openness of the country and the greatness of the house and therefore more danger," he would sooner keep her at Sheffield with sixty men than at Wingfield with 300. However, his objections were overcome, and she made a second stay at the latter place, from September to the end of the year. She was made comfortable with fifteen chambers for herself and her maids and men-servants, and "16 dishes at both courses" were served at her dinner. But careful watch and ward were kept. There were a hundred and twenty men belonging to the earl, fifty belonging to Sir Ralph, and forty soldiers. Of the latter, four at least were stationed "under the outward windows of her lodging," others stood day and night outside her door. Both gate-houses were guarded, "the gentleman porter ever at the one with four or five of his company and divers soldiers at the other." It was a busy time, such as Wingfield was never to know again. During the Civil War in the next century it was alternately garrisoned by Parliamentarians and Royalists. The latter stormed and took it in 1643, but were in turn besieged the following year by Sir John Gell, whose artillery eventually made a breach and the garrison surrendered. Dismantled by order of Parliament in 1646, the house never recovered. After the Restoration it was bought by Imanuel Halton, the mathematician. He found it in ruinous condition, and mainly installed himself in the great hall, which he divided into two floors, each of several rooms. He broke out the tracery of the windows to the north and inserted mullioning of the Charles II type, using, not the usual wooden frames, but stone of the same flat section as we find in houses of the period in the Cotswolds and other stone countries. He broke through the wall below and put a similar row of windows to light his ground floor rooms, and this part of his work remains as evidence of his occupation. His grandson thought the place no longer fit for habitation, and pulled down portions as material for his new house on the other side of the valley. It is fortunate that he left enough to give us some idea of the scale and grandeur of Lord Cromwell's stone-built manor place.



348.—SOUTH WINGFIELD MANOR HOUSE, DERBYSHIRE (CIR. 1435–40).

GROUND PLAN: 1, 1, Porter; 2, Guard-room; 3, Site of buildings destroyed; 4, Serving-place; 5, Wing traditionally said to have been occupied by Mary Queen of Scots.

The state apartments at the west end of the hall were on the upper floor: on the ground floor were the buttery, passage to kitchen, etc.

Reproduced from "The Growth of the English House," by kind permission of Mr. J. A. Gotch, F.S.A., and Mr. B. T. Batsford.

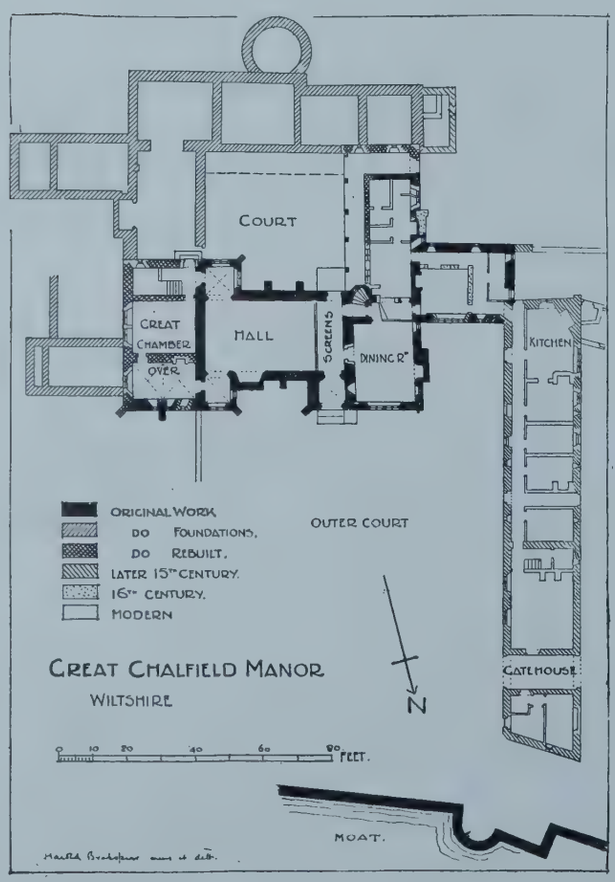
GREAT CHALFIELD MANOR, WILTSHIRE

PLANNED and built in the latter half of the fifteenth century by a wealthy and intelligent Wiltshire landowner, the manor house at Great Chalfield retains its ancient form and features in sufficient degree to take a very high place among the remaining houses of its date. There have been decay, demolition and renovation, but the former have not been overwhelming, while the last has been carried out in a way for which we must be most thankful. Epitomising its history, let it be said that it ceased in the seventeenth century to be a residence of importance. Thus its Gothic character was never replaced or cloaked by Late Renaissance features and additions, and yet the main fabric continued in repair up to 1837 when Pugin's pupil, T. L. Walker, laboriously measured, drew and described it. After that came a bad time. Of the east wing all but the north gable end disappeared, and the hall was cut up into rooms to accommodate a farmer. Thus it remained until a few years ago, when the owner put it into the capable hands of Mr. Harold Brakspear to undergo a deliberate, careful and complete restoration—a word which, happily, can now occasionally be used without any tinge of reproach or opprobrium. It adds to the interest that we are able to gather with some accuracy and detail when and how it came to be built. A lengthy manuscript volume containing nothing but the legal and administrative records of how a prudent man in the difficult days of the Wars of the Roses greatly added to his inherited acres seems at first hand fit only to be classed as dry-as-dust literature. Yet the Tropenell Cartulary has more than antiquarian interest. Rightly read, it is a human document of considerable vividness, and puts life into the stones of Chalfield.

349.—ACROSS THE MOAT.

Showing the north elevation of the house and, to the right, the gate-house, to the left, the church belfry.

350.—THE GATE-HOUSE FROM WITHIN THE FORECOURT.



351.—PLAN OF GREAT CHALFIELD MANOR.
Showing both existing and non-existing portions as surveyed by Mr. Harold Brakspear, F.S.A.

John Aubrey, collecting materials for his North Wiltshire topographical notes between the years 1659 and 1670, sought out many family muniments, accounts and "legier" books, and in particular tells us that "Col: W^m^ Eyre of Neston in Cosham parish hath the Legier Booke of the Family of Tropnell of Neston. It is an excellent booke: in parchment, well writ, and retrieves the ancient and extinct families of this North Division." Nineteenth century Wiltshire archæologists naturally wished to consult this valuable volume, but it was nowhere to be found. It could be traced up to 1744 and then the search failed. T. L. Walker came across a collection of extracts from it, and that was all. But in the closing years of the last century that excellent antiquary, Mr. Silvester Davies, Vicar of St. James', Enfield, found it among the effects which had passed from his predecessor in the living to the latter's sister. He possessed himself of it, and in 1908 edited it for the Wiltshire Archæological Society. The story of how Thomas Tropenell came to possess himself of the Great Chalfield estate and was enabled to erect the manor house is thus available. The document in the collection which is of most importance in relation to Great Chalfield is thus entitled:

> Thise ben for certayne all the pedegrees and mean astates in substance of all inheritours, purchasours, and ocupiers of the maner of Estchaldefeld, otherwise called Moche Chaldefeld, with the office of constablewyke of the castell of Trobrigge in the counte of Wilteshire, fro the tyme of Kyng Harry is day the thirde, and before fro the tyme that no mynde rynneth unto annum quintum Edwardi quarti (1465) declared, undirstond, and clerely determyned by the counseil lerned of Thomas Tropynell, squyer, and by hymself.

Therein we learn that the manor and parish of Great, or East, Chalfield, which lies four miles north of Bradford-on-Avon, was part of the possessions of a cadet branch of the Percies certainly as early as the reign of King John, and that under his son, "Kyng Harry the thirde," it was held by a Sir William Percy, whose daughter, Katherine, married Walter Tropenell. He was a son of Sir Osbert Tropenell, Lord of Sopworth and other Wiltshire lands, part of which the said Walter inherited. Fifth in descent from Walter and Katherine was Thomas Tropenell, the builder of Great Chalfield, whose claim to it by inheritance was thus remote and contingent on a more complete failure of Percy heirs than really occurred, although the male line did come to an end with the death of Sir Harry Percy the third, half a century before Thomas Tropenell was born. Sir Harry first married a lady of a good Wiltshire

family, entitled to bear arms. After presenting him with a daughter, Beatrice, she died, and the widower fell a prey to the charms of a designing woman who does not seem even to have possessed a surname, for she is described in the Cartulary as "Constaunce, bedfelaw and cosyne to Maister Robert Wayvile, bisshoppe of Salisbury," and is contemptuously dismissed as "born to no lond, neither to none armes." But she got Sir

352.—THE NORTH FRONT.

353.—THE NORTH FRONT (AS IT APPEARED 1840–1908).

Harry to marry her, and by a series of the legal proceedings then customary (which consisted in conveying your estates to men on whom you could rely to convey them back again to you under conditions that suited you, or secured your title better than before) induced him to give her a plausible title to Great Chalfield after his death. That appears to have been all she wanted him for, and in other respects to have preferred her episcopal "cosyne," for we are told that because of her "naughty lyf" the ill-used but rather abject husband "toke his pilgrymage to Jerusalem Warde, and died at Colayn," whereupon the securing of his inheritance occupied

354.—THE RESTORED NORTH FRONT.

much of the attention of Constance and her Bishop. No doubt it was a money payment which bought off the potential rights of a brother, but the much stronger and, indeed, quite legal claim of the daughter needed effacing by more drastic measures. "Duresse of emprisonement" in the episcopal city was her fate until she had "relessed unto the seid Constaunce, and unto her heires, in fee, all her right and title she had in the seid maner of Estchaldfeld." Such release, indeed, was bad in law on two counts. In the first place, Beatrice Percy was not then of age, and in the second place she had no right to bar her heirs. Yet so far as Constance was concerned it seems to have served. In possession she was, and in possession she remained for the whole

355.—THE END OF THE NORTH FRONT.

period of sixty-three years which elapsed between the deaths of Sir Harry Percy and her own, and during which she wedded and buried three more husbands. The second of these was the father of her only legitimate children, Isaude and Joanna, and she wished them and their descendants to come into the Percy inheritance. The father, Sir Philip FitzWaryn, was no doubt a capital soldier, knighted during the French wars, but, like his wife, "born to no londe," and so as anxious as herself to occupy somebody else's and hand it down to his progeny. Hence another set of conveyances and reconveyances in the attempt to make the title good. All was

of no avail. Some years after the death of Constance in 1419 came trouble. An interminable series of entries and re-entries, conveyances and reconveyances, ejectments and recoveries ensued, which did not finally cease till 1467. Isaude and her son, William Rous, Joanna and her son, William Beaushyn, did not readily give in to Beatrice Percy's son and grandson, Thomas Beverley, senior and junior. Meanwhile, Thomas Tropenell grew up into a long-headed, thrifty business man, intent on using his powers to become a large land-owner by steering clear of the dangers and taking advantage of the opportunities that bristled during the troublous times of the Wars of the Roses. As regards Great Chalfield, his title was clearly the weakest of any, but his brain was the best ordered and his purse the best filled. On Constance's death her daughter Isaude, wife of John Rous, gets possession, and she and her son, William, appear to have been left there in peace until 1427, when Beatrice Percy's son, Thomas Beverley the elder, takes action against them. This action is frequently adjourned and leads to no result. Hence a resort to force. The lord of the next manor is at enmity with Rous, and in 1431 " resceived the seid Tho. Beverley, the fadir, with many men of Salisbury, and of other places, in his hous at Westchaldefeld, to have entred upon the seid Will. Rous in Estchaldefeld and to have put hym therfro." But the Rous occupation continued, and in 1437 Thomas Tropenell appears on the scene. He was then thirty-two years of age, and had begun the building up of the great estate in Wiltshire towns and villages which was his principal aim in life. He obtains from William Rous a grant of Great Chalfield, provided the former have no legitimate issue, Tropenell agreeing to give small marriage portions to his natural children, who are reported to be numerous, the said William being a debauchee fit only to " devowre and selle away all his woodes, and his tylestones, tymbre and his houses." He dies in 1452, leaving no issue by his wife, who survives him, and, on confirmation to her of an annuity, conveys to Tropenell all her rights in Chalfield. Thereupon Constance's other daughter and her son, William Beaushyn, come forward with a claim, and for ten years there were entries and ejectments on the part of Tropenell and the Beaushyns, perhaps real, but much more probably fictitious and arranged for the strengthening of Tropenell's title. The Beaushyns were evidently pretty much in Tropenell's hands, as we see from an agreement on the part of Joanna Beaushyn and her son William to convey Chalfield to Tropenell on the latter consenting to clear off William's debts, amounting to £64, and to pay twenty-eight marks " for the delyveraunce of me, foreseid William, oute of prison." Meanwhile the Beverley claim had never been decided, but no doubt Tropenell found Thomas Beverley jun. amenable, for the latter, who recommenced his late father's action in 1445, with the same inconclusive results, is found in 1454 declaring that he " entred in Chaldefeld and made astate in fee to Thomas Tropenell." This, however, was by no means the last of it. Documents and declarations continue until at last, in 1467, there was arranged a recovery of Chalfield by

356.—THE GREAT CHAMBER ORIEL.

Beverley and a reconveyance by him to Tropenell. That careful man will then have been satisfied that Chalfield was securely his and that it was safe to pull down the old house of the Percies—no doubt ruinous from neglect—and build a house embodying the newest and best ideas of his time.

What he found we do not know. In the barn, which for the most part is no older than the days of Elizabeth, a remnant of fourteenth century work has been located by Mr. Brakspear, and on the inner bank of the moat, forming the northern limit of the forecourt (Fig. 349), are the foundations of an old wall that comprised bastions which were the chief evidence on which Walker founds his remark: "We may safely suppose a fortress to have existed here, prior to the present Manor House." Within the enclosure of this "fortress" stood the church. Here Tropenell rebuilt the west gable—which he topped with a charming stone belfry (Fig. 369)—and added a chapel on the south side. In other respects he left it standing, so that, although not lineable, it forms part of the architectural scheme by forming a balance to the western or office wing of the forecourt. This matter of balance is clearly one to which Tropenell attached importance, and he must therefore be put down as a fifteenth century pioneer of the principle of symmetry which the sixteenth century matured and the seventeenth established as an unalterable rule. The plan and grouping of a mediæval house were somewhat haphazard. The central

357.—THE ENTRY.

feature of the hall was habitually supported by solar and chamber at one end, and office building at the other. But each of these component parts was, except that they were at some time connected, largely independent in position, shape and skyline. They and the other "houses of office," stabling and retainers' quarters, which then combined to form the dwelling of a family of importance, were set about and contrived as best suited the often complex nature of a site which was likely to have been chosen for defensive rather than architectural reasons. Though Tropenell used a site originally built on for such reason, kept certain features and conformed to many traditional habits and arrangements, yet he went far to make his new home a thoughtfully balanced architectural composition. He retains the idea of the central hall lit on both sides, and with gable-ended roof line (Fig. 354) like Penshurst (Fig. 193). But he forms the block at each end into a pair of lineable wings coming forward on the north side as gables, each having the dominant feature of a highly enriched oriel. And on the inner side of these two principal gables he sets two smaller ones, perfectly alike as regards their upper storeys, while the lower merely differ in the one having an arched window and the other an arched porch entrance. Then tradition asserts itself, and in order to get the normal internal arrangement of a hall a single prominent chimney-shaft is set against one gable, and the remaining space up to the other gable is occupied by two windows. The result is perfectly harmonious, a delightful welding of old and new ideas as they presented themselves to the fifteenth century designer. The placing of the gables betokens adhesion to the dawning shackles of symmetry ; but not only the placing of the chimney, but the variation of the two oriels speak of the ancient freedom. The oriel of the east gable is the larger and richer (Fig. 356). It is semicircular, of six transomed lights rising from six traceried panels, and surrounded with bold fleur-de-lys cresting, the whole resting on a traceried base springing from mask corbels. It is given this importance because it not only lights, but is the outward evidence of the solar or great chamber, next to the hall the most

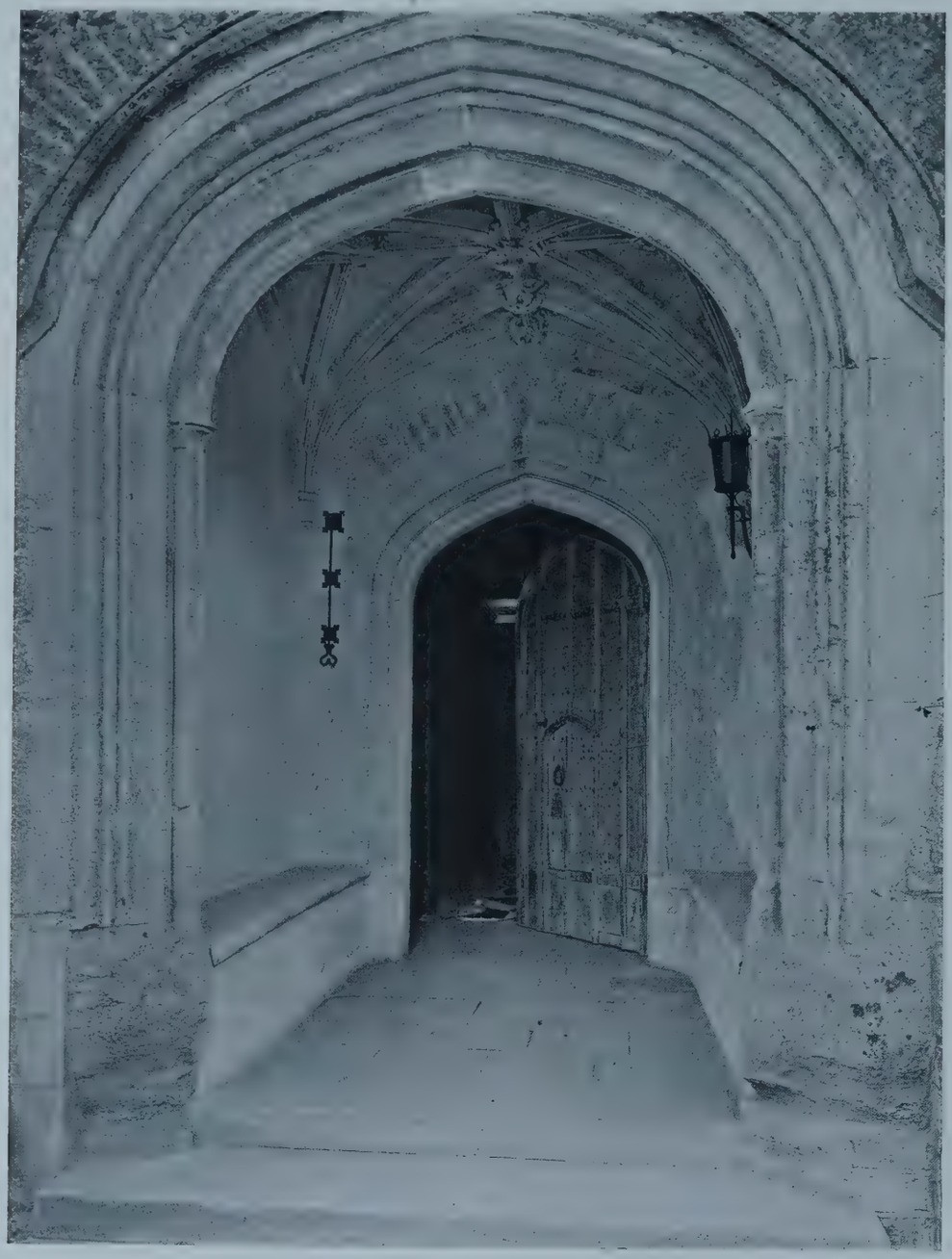
358.—THE SOUTH ELEVATION.

359.—THE NEW BUILDING ON THE SOUTH SIDE.

important room of the mediæval house, under which, perhaps only half above ground, should be vaulted cellarage. And below its northern end we do find at Chalfield a vaulted room, very likely used as a cellar, needing, therefore, little light, but due provision against the thrust of the vaulting. Hence the oriel is set upon a buttress cutting into the fan tracery of its corbelling and having a narrow window on each side (Fig. 352). That the other gable should also have an oriel was something of a departure, largely arising from a desire for symmetry, but also from a growing wish to increase both the number and the amenity of the chambers. Notice, too (Fig. 357), that it is over a room lit by a four-light window, never, surely, intended for the pantry (which, on mediæval principle, should occupy this position facing the hall screen), but, perhaps, from the

first intended for its present use as the usual family eating room—the " winter parlour " of Elizabethan days.

South of the hall Tropenell built a complete quadrangle of " houses of office," a very large part of which disappeared in later times and has only to some extent been replaced. But on the north side Chalfield has the rare good fortune of being now as its first builder left it, such blemishes as had occurred having been most carefully obliterated. What at once strikes the eye are the ampleness of the fenestration and the richness of the detail. Here is no dark castle with



360.—THE PORCH.

frowning, featureless walls, but an architectural creation, delicate and airy as a Gothic church. There was some defence, of course. The moat had to be crossed, the Percy walls and bastions within it were, no doubt, retained in a modified form, the archway through the west wing was barred and bolted by solid oak. But that was all. As the ground along which the north moat lay is sufficiently raised above the natural stream bed to the south to enable a mill (mentioned in Domesday) to be worked at the point where the western garden house now stands, the water defences shown on Walker's plan, now reproduced (Fig. 370), cannot have made a complete circuit,

and the stretches of southern water are formed as fish ponds on so set and formal a scheme as to savour of the age of the later Stuarts rather than of the last of the Plantagenets. A pleasant place in which to spend secure days was Thomas Tropenell's scheme for Chalfield, and yet he built when the chief man of every county in England might use the dynastic dispute to attempt by force of arms to settle family feuds or advance personal ambitions. Tropenell was not big enough to play such a part as that, and as we hear of him as a "Squyer, which had the lyverys of King Harry the Vj^{te} and of Kyng Edward the iiijth," he evidently had an eye for crossing over to the winning side at the right moment. Yet he might well expect local assaults such as we have seen planned against Chalfield by Thomas Beverley in 1431. Tropenell may have had no stomach to enter on other men's lands by force of arms, like his greater neighbours, yet he was a successful acquirer of acres by every means known to the law, and this did not make him

361.—IN THE HALL.

universally popular. We find him described as a "perillous covetouse man," although it must be admitted that those who say so appear to be trying to get the better of him in regard to the possession of an estate by false reports and underhand means. Certainly he never seems to have suffered from ill-will or hostile action, but to have lived a perfectly prosperous life. Whether much of it was spent at Chalfield does not transpire. Within the neighbouring manor of Corsham he owned the estate of Neston, where, Mr. Davies gathers from "The Cartulary," he "rebuilt the house, which was finished some time before 1453," and which he "continued to make his chief dwelling-place, and he is generally described as of Neston." Moreover, it was in Corsham Church that, in accordance with the provisions of his will, he was buried in a chantry chapel, which he probably himself erected for the purpose.

Why, then, did he create so remarkable and complete a home at Great Chalfield and add to its church a chantry made personal to himself and his family by its heraldic adornments?

362.—HALL FIREPLACE AND NORTH ORIEL.

The answer can only be that it was the culminating act of his life, and that if ever he moved into the new house, it was only for such a short time and at such an advanced age that it did not affect his established designation of Tropenell of Neston. This, surely, will also in a measure account for the slight nature of its defences. After Edward IV's landing at Ravenspur in 1471, quickly followed by the final and complete crushing of his enemies, peace seemed firmly established in England and the period of civil broils at an end. Tropenell, as we have said, would certainly not have begun his building till after he had finally established his title to the estate in 1467. Probably, for the reasons now given, he did not begin till later still. He lived on till 1488, and his second wife, whose heraldry constantly appears in conjunction with his own in house and

chapel, only pre-deceased him a few years. Round about 1480 is, therefore, the date to be assigned to Great Chalfield.

When its builder was laid to rest within the chapel of the Blessed Mary at Corsham he was found to have devised the whole of his carefully accumulated property to his son Christopher, except "one white bed" to his daughter Mary. Of Christopher nothing is related; but as, judging from the complete quoins of the corner of the house on to which the west wing joins, the latter must be an addition, although in the same style, it is possible that the son added somewhat to what the father had designed and built. Beyond that no change appears to have been made until after the male line of Thomas Tropenell had ended. His grandson, as a note added in 1695 to the "Cartulary" tells us, "had issue one sonne and two daughters. The sonne being att man's estate dyed by an unfortunate accident; as hunting, putting one end of a paire of dogg couples over his head, running after his sport, and leaping over a hedge the end of the dogg-couple, which hung att his back, tooke hold of a boughe, kept him from touching the ground, untell hee was strangld." So on his father's death in 1548 Chalfield and other property went to the elder daughter, Anne, wife to John Eyre of Wedhampton. The initials "I. E." and "A. E." on the soffit of the plaster-covered beams in the dining-room (Fig. 363), and also on one of the stiles of the chimneypiece, show that this Elizabethan work was put in by John Eyre, who was also responsible for a stone mantelpiece in the Great Chamber.

From the Eyres the place passed through several hands until it was bought in Charles II's time by John Hall, who was a descendant of Thomas Tropenell. The Halls were among the wealthiest townsmen of neighbouring Bradford-on-Avon, where John Hall built and endowed the almshouses near the bridge. He had no children, but was connected with the Bayntons of Little Chalfield, and he made Rachael Baynton his heiress. At the time of his death, in 1711, she was about to marry Lord Kingston, son of the first Duke of Kingston. Thus the well known Hall mansion at Bradford-on-Avon became known as Kingston House, and the Great Chalfield estate became part of the possessions of Rachael Baynton's son, the second Duke of Kingston, who sold it before his death in 1770. In the previous year he had gone through the form of marriage with the notorious and already wedded Elizabeth Chudleigh, whose bigamy trial before the House of Peers in 1776 was a social function of the first magnitude.

The purchaser of Great Chalfield in 1770 was Robert Neale of Shaw House, near Melksham, whose ancestor had come out of Gloucestershire and settled in Wiltshire as a clothier. The marriage of his granddaughter to Sir Harry Burrard in 1795 brought the estate to that distinguished sailor, who took the name of his wife's family, and it is as Admiral Sir Harry Neale that he was best known. He entered the Navy in 1778, and was constantly in action up to the days of Waterloo. His ship it was that refused to join the mutiny at the Nore in 1797, and, by making her escape under the brisk fire of the revolted men-of-war, so weakened the mutiny that Neale and his sailors were afterwards thanked at a meeting of merchants in the Royal Exchange. He lived on till 1840, and it was two or three years before his death that Thomas Walker visited Chalfield and made the admirable series of plans and measured drawings which he published in "Examples of Gothic Architecture." He was able in the first edition to say that: "The present possessor, Sir Harry Burrard Neale, anxious to preserve this truly venerable fabric, has intrusted the author with the necessary repairs." As the extensive offices, forming a complete court to the south of the hall, of which Mr. Brakspear has discovered the foundations—indicated in his plan (Fig. 351)—are wholly wanting in Walker's map of the whole site, it is clear that they had disappeared before his time. He merely indicates where they joined on to the building which contained the Great Chamber. That room, though somewhat decayed, was complete, and he mentions the "very elaborate fireplace" which, as already mentioned, was inserted by John Eyre. That only odd portions were found lying about on one of those garden stone heaps which pass as "a rockery" when Mr. Brakspear undertook the task of renovation is striking evidence of the ruthless hand that was laid on Great Chalfield at the very moment when Walker was hoping to preserve it. His set of drawings is dated 1837. Three years later, just after Sir Harry's death, a second edition of the "Gothic Examples" appeared, with the

363.—THE DINING-ROOM.

364.—PASSAGE BEHIND THE SCREEN.

following gloomy announcement in the preface :

> In the " Historical Account of the Manor-House of Great Chalfield," I mentioned that " the " *then* " possessor, anxious to preserve this truly venerable fabric, has intrusted the author with the necessary repairs." Such was then the case ; but from prudential motives it was found expedient (after the roof and two exterior walls of the *guest chamber* had been taken down, in consequence of their threatening danger to the inmates) to abandon those repairs—*so far as regarded the restoration of the original design*, and the late Sir Harry Burrard Neale, anxious to consult the comforts of a worthy tenant, consented to cut the noble Banqueting Hall into two heights, in order to supply bedrooms above, and kitchen &c., below ! ! ! Thus, the interior symmetry of the Hall is totally destroyed, the Screen removed, and the North Frontage disfigured by the insertion of modern windows under the original ones of the Hall ; and the armed knight, which terminated the gable of the Guest Chamber, is enshrined inside the semicircular Oriel Window ! ! !

Except that this knight —which, by the way, had been taken down from the hall gable—was afterwards moved to the ground, the above description answers perfectly for the Chalfield many of us knew and deplored and which is now represented (Fig. 353) in conjunction with an illustration giving its present appearance. The one picture shows the gable end of the Great Chamber building with its admirable oriel still standing, but the rest of the walls and the whole of the roof absent. The

upper part of one of the original hall windows appears above the " worthy tenant's " kitchen intrusion, close to which the knight is seen sitting on a pile of stones. The interesting crenellated chimney-shaft drawn by Mr. Walker has disappeared. Great blocks of ivy with harsh cut edges obliterate various features and much delightful wall surface, into which they are working with their usual destructive results. The other picture tells how well the damage done has been rectified. All on this front is once more as Thomas Tropenell left it and as Walker found it and faithfully recorded it in his measured drawings, which have proved of invaluable assistance in the renovation. That happy consummation occurred as follows: Mr. Fuller of Neston Park bought Great Chalfield in 1878 and so re-united these two Tropenell estates which Sir William Eyre had left separately to his two sons when he died in 1629. For thirty more years it continued as a farm, until, thirty years later, he passed it on to his son,

365.—NORTH-WEST BEDROOM.

Mr. Robert Fuller. Though intending to occupy it, he was in no hurry to do so, and thus the work could be undertaken with the care and deliberation essential to success in so delicate and difficult an undertaking. Not more than was absolutely necessary was done to the exterior, but even that, except on the north side, was very considerable. To the south the hall itself needed little attention, but on either side it was a matter of positive rebuilding. This was done to the extent of what remained roofed in Walker's day, while (Fig. 358) a very pleasant formal garden on varying levels has been laid out on the slightly sloping ground which had been occupied by Thomas Tropenell's outbuildings, of which the newly revealed foundations have been left outlined in the garden lay-out. The west side of Tropenell's courtyard was still standing. Towards the west the wall is original, and the upstairs room has, next to the fireplace, a charming little bayed-out window of the time of Elizabeth, evidently a little amenity added by John Eyre. To the east this building has been largely modernised before Walker made his survey, but enough

of the old timber was found to exactly reproduce the oak arcading and the oak framing above it. One of the old windows, too, was found in another position, and was not only replaced but served as a model for those which were lost. East of the hall the rebuilding consisted of a careful re-edification of the Great Chamber and its undercroft. It was uncertain whether the original staircase to this end of the house lay east or south of the Great Chamber, foundations occurring at both places. No doubt it was of newel form, too small to be held adequate to-day. The rebuilding, therefore, was made to include a sufficient space south of the Great Chamber to accommodate an easy ascent to it and to the little room over the southern oriel of the hall. This was somewhat ruinous, but that to the north remained intact. In size and character it corresponds to the porch and, like it, has a stone vault of which the ribs spring from a central boss displaying the Tropenell arms (Fig. 360). The oak door is original, and as good of its date as that at Penshurst is of the fourteenth century. The great doors to gate-houses were always fitted with wickets, but house doors were only occasionally of size and character to be thus contrived: and so the Penshurst and Chalfield examples are valuable survivals. At Chalfield the wicket starts about 15ins. from the ground and is 21ins. wide, the whole door being about 8½ft. high and 5½ft. wide. It opens behind the screens (Fig. 364) and is faced by the door which opened into the inner court. To the right, where we should expect the triple doors to the offices, there is only one original doorway, for it is a modern one that now opens into what Thomas Tropenell —whose house-planning views were advanced for his age—may have meant as a dining parlour, and which John Eyre, as we have seen, certainly refitted as such. Behind his panelling was found a remnant of Tropenell's wall painting in red and black tempera, perhaps a portrait of himself, but so little flattering that it has been held to be a symbolical presentment of avarice or gluttony. From this room a squint overlooks the porch. It is filled with a little original oak shutter, 5½ins. wide, the opening itself being under 3ins. wide. The further doorway of the passage very likely alone led, as it does now, to the offices, but its excellent old oak door with original wrought iron furniture opens also on to a stone stairway 4ft. wide and not of newel form. It merely curves up into its own little windowed recess and then continues in a straight flight, joining what is now a set of oak treads (Fig. 368). The west excrescence to which it leads has on both its north and south walls piscinas or drain basins of which the outlets pass through the walls and end in far projecting shoots. The convenience of readily getting rid of all upstairs slops was well understood in mediæval times, and even as early as thirteenth century Aydon (page 108).

Walker fortunately published a very carefully measured drawing of the hall screen before its disappearance, and it has therefore been possible to reproduce it. It is painstaking, but a little more attention should have been given to catching the tone and texture of old work. The effect is just a bit smooth and mechanical and misses the play of light and shade which arises from the slight unevenness and roughness of mediæval tool marks, helped, no doubt, by the wear and tear of time. Mr. Brakspear is very properly opposed to *faking*, to a set endeavour at creating an appearance deceptively old. But that can very well be avoided, and yet sufficient assimilation to old textures given to prevent the eye being worried by too assertive a contrast between the original and the replacement. This may be a difficult path to tread, and, once entered upon, the *facilis descensus Averno* comes upon the rash and unwary. But one so well equipped with knowledge and judgment as Mr. Brakspear may safely enter upon it. It must, however, be confessed that his let-alone system is preferable to the somewhat over-laboured new-antiquity of the more recently restored gate-arch over the moat.

If the screen is new and looks it, the hall (Fig. 361), for the rest, retains most of its original features. Of these the most interesting and exceptional are the stone masks, set in front of the squints, hollowed out at the back and with eye and mouth apertures. It was usual to be able to see down into the hall from a solar or upper chamber. It was also usual in fifteenth-century rood lofts to so contrive the ornament of the parapet that those in the loft could look down on to the congregation without being perceived. But the Chalfield masks for the same purpose are so exceptional as hall fittings that they were held to be unique until Mr. Brakspear found one quite similar, and similarly placed, at Little Sodbury in Gloucestershire. Chalfield is also remarkable for the number of the squints, for there is not only one from the west upper chamber, but also

one from each of the little rooms over the hall oriels. Another peculiar feature of this hall is the ceiling. The roof-line of the hall building, detached from the wing roofs and ending in gables made particularly noticeable by their great figure finials, is in accord with mediæval tradition ; but that this roof should not be open to the hall was one of Thomas Tropenell's novelties. He ceiled his hall with a slightly cambered ceiling such as flat lead-roofed churches and rooms often had in his day, and yet he put a high-pitched roof above it. That this was a deliberate part of the design is shown by the space above having had window apertures in the gable ends and stairway access from the rooms over porch and north oriel. The latter was contrived by making a little angular excrescence by the side of the chimney-shaft, corbelled out on moulded ashlar work,

366.—IN THE GREAT CHAMBER.

and having a window (Fig. 355). The other little stairway was obtained by pushing out the wall as many inches as the neighbouring hall window permitted and then using the wall thickness. The space above would provide ample sleeping space for retainers, and its two staircases permitted access from either end of the house without traversing the hall. The hall ceiling itself was divided into half a dozen large panels by great, boldly moulded beams and wall plates having bosses at the intersections. These had arms, and that of the Ludlows—to which family Tropenell's second wife belonged—survived until the hall was cut up into rooms in 1840. Originally each large panel was divided into four by cross ribs having plaster bosses at the ends and intersection. They, however, were already gone in Walker's day, who tells us that they "were taken down a few years ago, as they threatened danger to the inmates, and were presented to the present Venerable Bishop of Bath and Wells, of whose valuable collection in the Crypt at the Palace of Wells they now form part." They all had different devices, among them Tropenell's favourite badge and motto. This was also painted all along the large hollow moulding of the ceiling beams, and can yet be discerned. The badge was a yoke and was not only used alone decoratively, but as representing the first word of the motto: "Le joug tyra belement." What application the phrase, "the yoke drew well," had in reference to Tropenell is not evident.

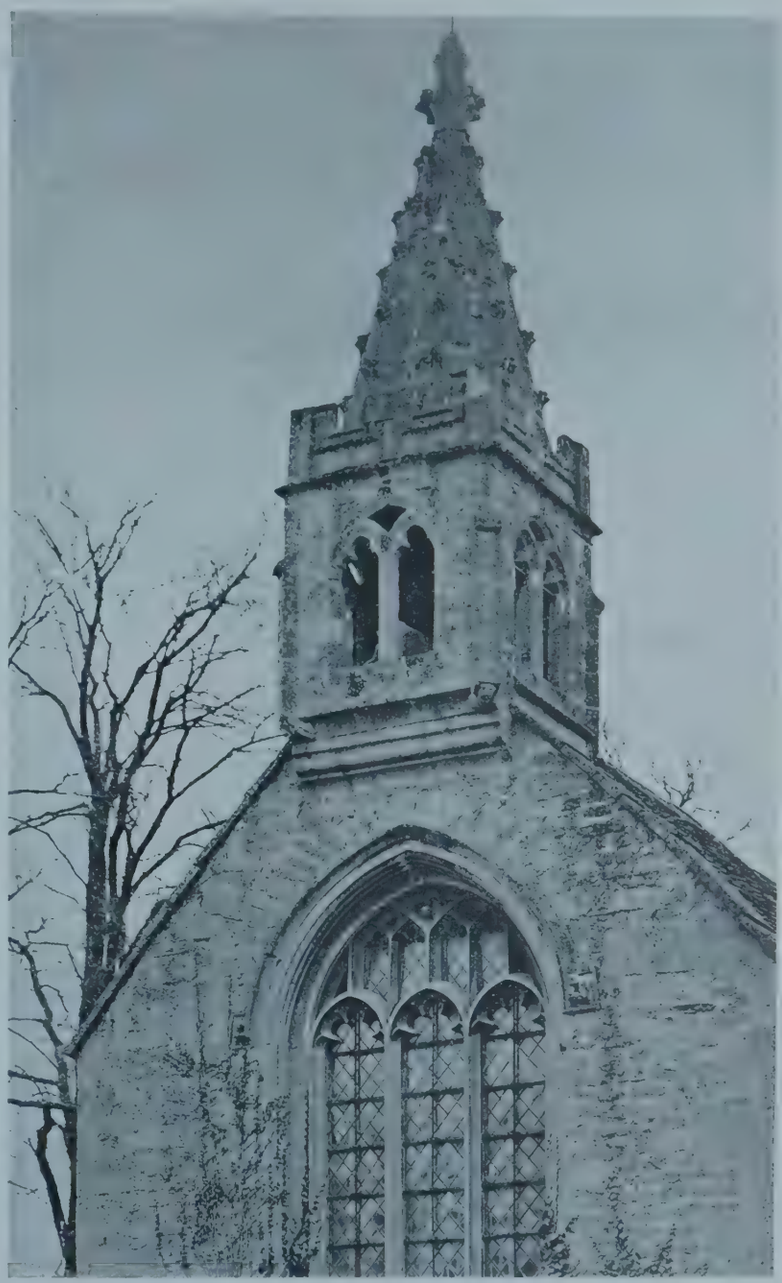
367.—UNDERCROFT TO GREAT CHAMBER.

The hall fire arch (Fig. 362) has a 9ft. opening, and the long, narrow spandrels are carved with foliage. A single stone, 12ft. long and nearly 4ft. wide, forms not only the head of the fire arch, but a section of the moulded jamb of the oriel archway by its side. The surface of this and all other dress stone in the hall is pitted with marks of the hacking it underwent to form a key for the plaster of the 1840 kitchen. On the left side of the fire arch may now be seen the recess into which was fitted one end of the stone benches which still ran along either side wall of the hall when Buckler made the coloured drawings of Chalfield which are now in Mr. Robert Fuller's possession. Under a solar or great chamber was often a vaulted room or cellar. Such, of large size and with central pillar, we have seen at Penshurst. But at Chalfield only the northern end was so treated. Mr. Fuller, however, surmises from traces of foundations that the vaulting did once extend southward, supported by central pillars, and is older than the date of Tropenell's rebuilding, who will also have found the already mentioned buttress standing, and, therefore, welded it into the base of his oriel. Walker's section shows the vaulting, and that, together with the corbel and ribbing which survived in the still standing north wall, has permitted the room to

368.—STAIRWAY FROM PASSAGE.

be accurately rebuilt (Fig. 367). Mr. Walker's drawings were also of much assistance in re-creating the Great Chamber (Fig. 366). Thus, although the roof is entirely new, it could be reproduced on the old lines, with the wind braces reversed ; that is, not starting from each side of the principals, but back to back in the centre of the intervening spaces—an arrangement quite unusual, and not found elsewhere in the house, the roof over the hall, that of the west upper chamber and that of the gate-house wing following the normal method of construction.

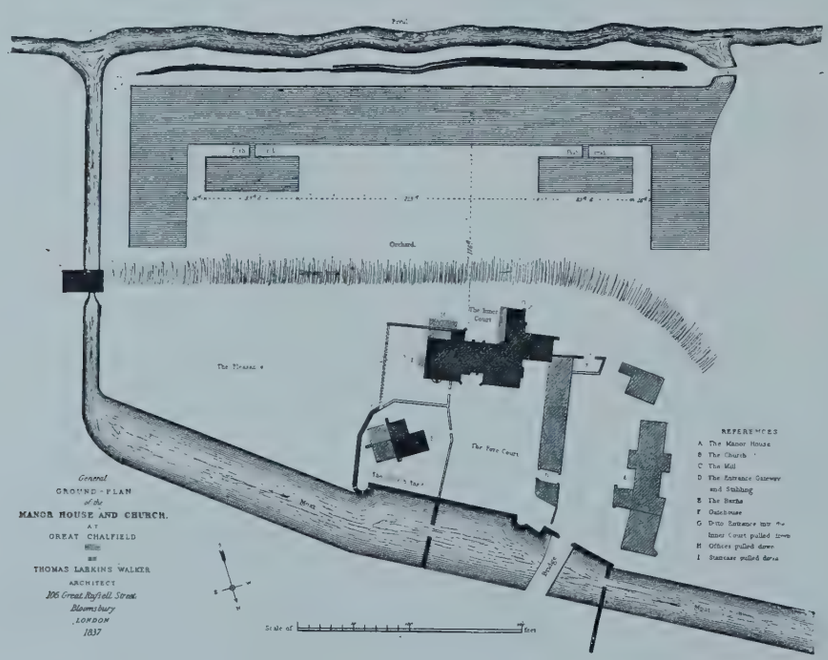
That the Great Chamber oriel suffered so little from standing for nearly sixty years as an exposed ruin is, indeed, a matter for which we may be thankful. The rusting of the original iron bars of the window lights had burst the stone mullioning in various places, and led to some renewal of it, but the delicate cresting was intact. The interior vaulting had lost nothing, except the end rosettes of two out of its three pendants. But the whole was fractured and shaky ; so a strong copper plate was introduced above it and the stonework caught up by bolts from it. If the oriel of the north-west chamber (Fig. 365) is less sumptuous than the other, it has the merit of retaining two or three of its original painted glass panes. "Love God" and "Dread Shame" are painted on ribbons, and the interspaces are filled with little birds. The illustrations show that Mr. and Mrs. Fuller have fully realised how so typical an old house should be furnished. The character, the amount, the placing of the furniture are right. Certainly it is not of the date of Thomas Tropenell, for such is not obtainable, and, if it were, would hardly suffice for the needs of to-day. But while comfort is not forgotten, there is no crowding of unnecessary stuff, but sufficient good pieces belonging to times when much of the manners of Tropenell's age survived.



369.—THE CHURCH BELFRY.

The last portion of the charming group of buildings that constitutes this complete mediæval home to undergo renovation has been the church, under the supervision of Mr. C. H. Biddulph-Pinchard. The nave belongs to the days of the Percies, but much renewal was done by Thomas Tropenell. The whole of the west end, including the delightful little stone belfry belongs to his time, and it has been suggested that he shortened the original nave so as to prevent the church from protruding too far forward and marring the general balance of the new house and its flanking buildings on the forecourt side. As already stated, he built a chantry chapel,

as if it had been his intention to alter his earlier plan of using the chapel in Corsham Church as his family burial place. His Chalfield chapel he set on the south side of the nave, connecting it with a wide archway, in which he placed a stone screen. Both screen and chapel he made personal to himself. On the central boss of the oak roof (which closely resembles that in the hall) is a shield of arms of Tropenell impaling Ludlow. On the cornice of the screen the large central shield is of Tropenell alone. The other four show, by the impalements, the most important marriages of the family, from that of Walter Tropenell with Katherine Percy, towards the end of the thirteenth century, down to that of Thomas Tropenell with his cousin, Margaret Ludlow, about the year 1456. This stone screen was afterwards moved to the chancel arch, and when, in 1765, the floor of the church was raised 20ins., its proportions were spoilt by its being buried to that extent. Moreover, a considerable portion of it was masked by the otherwise very agreeable "three decker" pulpit and reading desk, of which the details, simple as they are, point to the days of the Eyre ownership. The recent replacement of the screen in its proper position was therefore desirable from every point of view, archæological and æsthetic. In its stead a new oak screen, in the manner of those which were being so largely introduced in Thomas Tropenell's time, has been set across the chancel arch. There has been restoration work on the right lines, and Mr. and Mrs. Fuller are to be congratulated on their conduct of this finishing touch to the long and arduous work of giving back to Great Chalfield, in the highest possible degree consistent with the condition in which it lay, the appearance and the quality intended by its original builder.


Orchard.
The Inner Court
The Fore Court
REFERENCES
A The Manor House
B The Church
C The Mill
D The Entrance Gateway and Stabling
E The Barns
F Oakhouse
G Site Entrance into the Inner Court pulled down
H Offices pulled down
I Staircase pulled down
General GROUND-PLAN of the MANOR HOUSE AND CHURCH, AT GREAT CHALFIELD
THOMAS LARKINS WALKER ARCHITECT
106 Great Russell Street Bloomsbury LONDON
1837

370.—PLAN OF GREAT CHALFIELD AND ITS SURROUNDINGS.
As surveyed by Thomas Walker in 1837.

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Tulsa, Oklahoma

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